HISTORY OF NAVYA-NYĀYA IN MITHILĀ

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THE GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR established the *Mithila* Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning at Darbhanga in 1951 with the object *inter alia* to promote advanced studies and research in Sanskrit learning to bring together the traditional Pandits with their profound learning and the modern scholars with their technique of research and investigations to publish works of permanent value to scholars This Institute is one of the five others planned by this Government as a token of their homage to the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted Apart from the Mithila Institute three others have been established and have been doing useful work during the last three or four years— Nalanda Institute of Research and Post Graduate Studies in Buddhist Learning and Pali at Nalanda K P Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna and the Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad for research and advanced studies in Hindi at Patna In the establishment of the Mithila Institute the State Government received a generous donation from the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga for construction of the building on a plot of land also donated by him

As part of this programme of rehabilitating and re orientation of ancient learning and scholarship the editing and publication of this Volume has been undertaken with co operation of scholars in Bihar and outside The Government *of Bihar hope to continue to sponsor such projects* and trust that this humble service to the world of scholarship and learning would bear fruit in the fulness of time

Abbrevıatıons

Benaras Cat(alogue)
B(ıblıotheca) I(ndıca) or Bıbl(ıotheca) Ind(ıca)
B(handarkar) O(rıental) R(esearch) I(nstıtute)
Cabaton s Cat(alogue)
Cat(alogue) of Ulwar M(anu)s(crıpt)s
Des(crıptıve) Cat(alogue) of A sıatıc S(ocıety)
Des(crıptıve) Cat(alogue of) M(anu)s(crıpt)s ın the Jaına Bhandaras at Pattan
Das(crıptıve Cat(alogue) of Mıthıla M(anu)s(crıpt)s
Des(crıptıve) Cat(alogue of the) Sarasvatı Mahal Tanjore
G(anganatha) Jha R(esearch) I(nstıtute) Journ(al)
G(aekwad) O(rıental) S(erıes)
I(ndıan) A(ntıquary)
I ndıan) C(ulture)
I(ndıan) H(ıstorıcal) Q(uarterly)
I(ndıa) O(ffice)
Jammu Cat(alogue)
J(ournal) A(sıatıc) S(ocıety of) B(engal)
J(ournal) B(ıhar) R(esearch) S(ocıety)
J(ournal), B(ıhar and) O(rıssa) R(esearch) S(ocıety)
Journal Ganganatha Jha R(esearch) I(nstıtute)
Jha Com(memoratıon) Vol(ume)
Nepal Cat(alogue) H P Sastrı
Proc(eedıngs) of the (All Indıa) Orıental Conf(erence)
R(oyal) A(sıatıc) S(ocıety of) B(engal)
S(arasvatī) B(havana) S(tudıes)
Texts
Tanjore Cat(alogue)
Z(eıtschrıft der) D(eutschen) M(orgenlandıschen) G(esellschaft)

Preface

The following pages present the posthumous studies on the History of Navya-Nyāya in Mithilā by the late Professor Dineshchandra Bhattacharya who was a specialist in the much neglected branch of Indology—Study of Mss. His contributions on the History of Vaidyaka, Dharmaśāstra, Navya-Nyāya and Sanskrit Grammar scattered in the pages of different scholarly journals will immortalise him It was in his mature years that he began to systamatise the results of his studies. His Bengali work—*Vaṅge Navya-Nyāya-carcā* was well received and fetched for him the much coveted 'Rabindra Prize' from the Government of West Bengal.

It was a matter of gratification that he accepted my offer to write a volume on the History of Navya-Nyāya in Mithilā. He came to Mithilā and examined the Manuscript Libraries of the Mithilā Institute and Raj Darbhanga, thrown open to him. But the beckon from beyond impelled him to make hurry and he could not finish the work on the plan chalked out. His health was deteriorating rapidly and he breathed his last soon after he handed the press copy of the present work over to me.

The work, however, will show that the author collected every available material in India and abroad and gave his considered and impartial verdict on the problems taken up. It may be hoped that it will serve as an invitation to younger scholars to carry out further fruitful researches in the line

A few minor omissions and anachronisms may be noticed. But in the absence of the author, I thought it fit to preserve his text as it is. Interested scholars may refer to his above-mentioned Bengali work for more details. The author could not

add his Introduction which would have much enhanced the value of the Volume

Professor Bhattacharya's MS. collection, so often referred to in these pages, has as it is reported, been donated to the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parisad, Calcutta.

I take the opportunity to thank all those, particularly the authorities of the Raj Library, Darbhanga, Asiatic Society, Bengal, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and Sarasvati Bhavana, Banaras, who allowed the author to utilize the materials at their disposal.

I also like to record with thanks the help I received from Prof Anantalal Thakur of the Institute in carrying the work through the press and preparing the index for this volume

22-4-58
Darbhanga

P. L. Vaidya
Director

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HISTORY OF NAVYA-NYĀYA IN MITHILĀ

CHAPTER I

UDAYANĀCĀRYA AND HIS PREDECESSORS

MITHILĀ with her natural barriers and a compact social and cultural hierarchy has held her own through the millenniums against disruptive forces, and has shed lustre right from the Vedic times in all phases of human knowledge. Her literary history has no parallel for its antiquity, diversity and continuity. By far the greatest contribution, however, that Mithilā has made to the philosophical literature of India is the *Nyāyadarśana*, or applied Logic with a very wide sphere of operation. This system is broadly divided into two distinct schools, ancient and modern. In the following pages we shall attempt to give a brief account of the ample materials now available through further spade-work on the history and bibliography of *Navya-Nyāya* or the modern school of Indian Logic in Mithilā.[1]

This modern school is commonly believed to have been founded by Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, who only consolidated it. The real founder is the great Udayanācārya, who had the supreme privilege of occupying the threshold to ring out the old and usher the new age by his monumental works. On the

1. Rai Monomohan Chakravarti Bahadur, who was a scholar of Botany and a member of the Executive Service, was, curiously enough, the first in the field and published the results of his unique labours in an 'excellent' paper (*History of Navya-Nyāya in Bengal and Mithilā* : *JASB*, 1915, pp. 259-292). He was followed notably by MM. Dr. Gopinath Kaviraja, who succeeded in unravelling many new facts (*Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, Vol. III. pp. 81-157). Also S. N. Sinha's *History of Tirhut*, 1922, pp. 108-88 : App. A. Sanskrit writers of Mithilā. In this book family records were consulted for the first time. Also Dr. Vidyabhusana's *History of Indian Logic*, 1921, Part III.

one hand Udayana's *Pariśuddhi* forms the last part of the surviving classics of the older school of the *Nyāya* popularly known as the Quadruplet or the Quintette[1], and on the other his *Kusumāñjali* is up-till-now a text-book of the *Navya-Nyāya.* Fortunately all his works are now available in print except a major portion of the *Pariśuddhi.* These are :—

1) *Lakṣaṇāvalī* (Vindhyeśvarīprasāda's ed., 1897, pp. 13), a Vaiśeṣika manual. Its authenticity, which is sometimes questioned, is proved by a reference in the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* (Abhyankara's ed. p. 221 : the verse cited is from the present work) and by its several commentators viz. Śeṣa Śārṅgadhara (fl. 1500 A. D. in the *Nyāyamuktāvalī*, S. Gosvāmin's ed., Benares, 1900, pp. 72), Bhaṭṭa Keśava of the Laugākṣi family of Benares (Ms at Baroda : cf *Tanjore Cat.* p. 4643), Mahādeva Somayājī (Mahādeva Puṇatāmkara's Ms. copy at Sarasvatī Bhavana, Banares) and Viśvanātha Jha of Darbhanga. Its date of composition 906 Saka ('तर्काम्बराङ्क') is recorded in one single Ms. dated 1708 Saṃvat (No. 594 of Sarasvatī Bhavana).

2) *Lakṣaṇamālā* : this long-lost Nyāya manual of Udayana has at last been discovered and published (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, XIX. i pp. 44-52). As there was a later

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1. Two foremost Maithila scholars Vācaspati II and Saṅkara refer to the older classics as चतुर्ग्रन्थी consisting of भाष्य-वार्तिक-तात्पर्यटीका-परिशुद्धि. Thus—

यदप्यविरटीयसी जयति सा चतुर्ग्रन्थिका
तथा यदपि भास्करो यदपि तत्त्वबोधोऽधिकः ।
वाचस्पतिकृत-न्यायतत्त्वालोके आरम्भश्लोक २ ।

रितुर्व्याख्यां कृत्वा मनसि भवनाथस्य कृतिन.
चतुर्ग्रन्थीमन्यानहमिह विमोक्तु व्यवसित ।
शंकरमिश्रकृत-त्रिसूत्रीनिबन्धव्याख्यारम्भे ।

Abhayatilakopādhyāya in the *Nyāyālaṅkāra* uses the happy term पञ्चप्रस्थान-न्यायमहातर्क adding the original *Sūtras* to the list —इति युगप्रधान-श्रीजिनेश्वरसूरिशिष्यलेश-श्रीअभयतिलकोपाध्यायनिर्मितायां पञ्चप्रस्थानन्यायमहातर्कविषमपदव्याख्यायां न्यायालंकाराभिधायां पञ्चमोऽध्याय: समर्थित ॥ (Rotograph preserved in the Mithilā Institute).

work of the same name by Śivāditya Miśra the anonymous copy has been ascribed by the editor to the latter But it is undoubtedly the lost work of Udayana The first verse is identical with that of the *Gunakiranāvalī*, and Śivāditya cannot possibly have borrowed Udayana's verse to begin with The learned editor has correctly noted that none of the numerous quotations from Śivāditya in the *Chitsukhī-tīkā* can be traced in the present work. We should add that both the quotations found in the *Tārkikaraksā* (pp 179 & 225) are exactly traced herein (pp 46 & 50) and in both places the commentator Mallinātha clearly ascribes the present work to Udayana The very first *Sūtra* of this manual ('तत्त्वानुभूति प्रमा') is quoted and refuted in the *Khandana* along with two others from the *Kusumāñjali*, and Śaṅkara Miśra correctly stated that it was taken from the *Laksanamālā* of Nyāyācārya (*Śānkarī* p 146) Śivāditya could have no claim to that title as against Udayana specially in Mithilā in the times of Śankara This elementary manual should be introduced in seminaries with great benefit to beginners

3 4) *Ātmatattvaviveka* or *Bauddhadhikāra* and *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, both published with commentaries in various editions

5) *Nyāyapariśista* or *Prabodhasiddhi* a separate commentary on the 5th chapter of the *Nyāyasūtra* the most intricate portion of the book (edited with Vardhamāna's *Prakāśa* by N C Vedāntatīrtha Calcutta 1938) In the last verse Udayana woefully laments that his exposition will hardly find a reader in a world devoid of intellectual eminence

6) *Nyaya-vārtika-tātparya pariśuddhi*, better known as the *Nibandha* About one-third of the book was published from the Asiatic Society with Vardhamāna's *Prakāśa* (pp 768)

All the above six works of Udayana, it should be carefully noticed are complete and each of them ends suitably with con-

been published (by M M Vindhyeśvariprasāda in the Introd to the *Nyāyavārttika*, 1916) forming the 30th chapter of the *Bhavisyapurana Parisista* which is on the face of it a recent work It narrates the interesting story of his academic contest with a Buddhist scholar who came to the royal court of Mithilā with disciples and books for the purpose. Udayana came out successful in the debate which lasted for several days, and a miracle performed by the Buddhist before a Sālagrāma was countered by Udayana by a greater miracle. In the final ordeal they both jumped from the top of a palm tree in which Udayana escaped unhurt and the Buddhist died Udayana was highly honoured by the Lord Jagannatha at Puri as His own incarnation and died a natural death in old age at Kāsi It is clearly stated that his descendants were still living in Mithilā –

अद्यापि मिथिलाया तु तदन्वयभवा द्विजा ।
विद्वास शास्त्रसपन्ना पाठयन्ति गृहे गृहे ॥

A somewhat different version of the story was published by Vidyābhūsana (l c p 142 originally in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society 1896, Pt I pp 20-21) probably from Tibetan sources When the Buddhist died in the ordeal by jumping from the top of a hill Udayana was stigmatised by the Lord Jagannatha as a murderer and died by self burning uttering the following verse still widely current among scholars addressing the Lord —

ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तोऽसि मामवज्ञाय वर्तसे ।
उपस्थितेषु बौद्धेषु मदधीना तव स्थिति ॥

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and no other work is ascribed to him. The sharp fling at a Gaudamimamsaka' in the *Kusumāñjali* itself (under III 14) is a convincing proof that the author never belonged to Bengal A clever Vārendra scholar of the last century wrote (*Laghubhārata* Vol III p 160-61) about Udayana Bhaduri —

स त्वेश्वरन्यायविषय कुसुमाञ्जलिम् ।
हरेर्दर्शन्न हर्ष सम्प्राप गौडे प्रचारितम् ॥

The Pauranic version of the story seems to be more reliable Academic contests were the rule in those days, and Udayana's contest with a proud Buddhist' scholar in the presence of the king of Mithilā seems to be substantially true

We append below an alphabetical list of authorities cited directly and indirectly by Udayana in his works This list is obviously not exhaustive and the classical works—the Bhāsya, Vārtika and Praśastapādabhāsya as well as the names of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti are omitted. We have attempted to collect all available information about some of the prominent names in the list.

Aniruddha the name of this ancient author was traced by us in the *Dīdhiti ṭīkā* of Rudra Tarkavāgīśa (grandson of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa) of Navadvīpa, who composed it about 1660 A.D[1] There are two references both on the denotation of a pronoun. It now appears that he is probably identical with the author of the *Vivarana pañjikā*, a commentary on the *Bhāṣya*, *Vārtika* and *Tātparya* In Udayana's *Pariśuddhi* the comment of a previous commentator on the *Tātparyaṭīkā* is cited and refuted in the following passage अनेनैव कारणमविद्यात्मप्ये कार्यो प्रवृत्तिरनुपद्धिणौ धर्माधर्माविति *टीकाव्याख्यान*-मपहस्तितम् । (pp. 74-5).
(cf. *Tātparyaṭikā*, Vizianagram ed., p 6, line 7). Whether this is a reference to Aniruddha we cannot say. It is our conjec-

1 *Dīdhiti-Raudrī* is an extremely rare book there is a unique Ms copy preserved in the Alwar Maharaja's Library A complete transcript in 349 folios was very kindly procured and lent to us by Maharajakumar Dr Raghubir Sinha of Sitamau The two passages of Aniruddha are found in fol 21b & 22a For Rudra's date and works *vide* our Bengali book *Vange Navyanyāyacarcā* pp 144-47 For Aniruddha's newly discovered commentary *vide* Dr J S Jetly's paper in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, Dec 1954 to March 1955, pp 240-44 It is really surprising that a 17th century scholar of Navadvīpa could mention the long lost name of an ancient authority on the *Nyāya* who probably preceded Udayana

cluding verses Only the *Pariśuddhi* ends with a closing phrase (इति सर्वं निस्तरङ्गमिति) which is not metrical (*Tanjore Cat*, p 4487) But the next work is a notable exception on this point

7) *Kiraṇāvalī* the celebrated commentary on the Praśastapāda-Bhāsya upon which a vast literature flourished in Mithilā and Bengal It is, as is well-known incomplete, and as far as available ends quite abruptly in the midst of the section on Buddhi in the second part of the Bhāsya There is not even the word इति at the end of the extant portion The editor of the Varanasi edition (Chowkh ed p 340) is quite wrong in stating that the section on Buddhi ends along with the extant text of the *Kiraṇāvalī* As a matter of fact, more than a third of the section remains unexplained by Udayana and the particular section of the Bhāsya ends only on page 348 of that edition Only two alternatives are possible here Either Udayana left it incomplete by sudden death or the last portion of the gloss was lost due to unknown causes The first alternative seems to be more probable though further investigation on the text of the *Kiranavalī* is necessary [1]

The chronological order of Udayana's works (including Nos 1-2 which may be taken as preparatory manuals) is probably what we have given above The *Ātmatattvaviveka* is cited by name in the *Kusumāñjali* (under V 3) both of which are mentioned in the *Kiraṇāvali* (pp 103 & 147) The *Pariśuddhi* cites the *Kusumāñjali* (S B Ms No 51 under II i fol 58b & under II ii foll 63a & 66b Also Baroda Ms No 1207 fol 18a under V ii) the *Pariśista* (under V i ii, Baroda Ms foll 7b 10b & 16b) and the *Atmatattvaviveka* (under II i fol 58b along with *Kusumāñjali* सृष्टिमहाप्रलयसाधकान्यनुमानानि आत्मतत्त्वविवेके न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलौ च कृतपरिश्रमाणामनायासप्रपञ्च-

1 It is learnt that a further portion of the *Kiraṇāvali* has recently been discovered and is being edited by Muni Sri Jambuvijayaji

नोपानि) Vāchaspati cites Praśastapāda's elaborate definition of happiness under the caption यथाहु. पदार्थविद. (*Tātparyatīkā*, p. 81) Udayana explains it in the *Pariśuddhi* (B.I. ed pp 531-32), without referring to the *Kiranāvali*, which evidently was not yet written or planned

It is clear that Udayana wrote the independent treatises before the commentaries We have left out Nos 1-2 from *this* investigation, as they are to be taken as mere appendices to Nos. 6-7 , both of them borrow benedictory verses from No 6, which was composed evidently before them

UDAYANA BELONGED TO MITHILĀ

For a proper understanding of Udayana's great achievement, it is necessary to ascertain the age and environments in which he lived. Though his provenance is not mentioned in his works, it is almost universally admitted by scholars that he belonged to Mithilā. He lived in a village named Kariyona near the Railway station Kāmataula, where his descendants are said to exist still with the surname 'Ācārya' and the ruins of his seminary are still pointed out[1] Maithila scholars still narrate his anecdotes with delight An *Udayanacarita* has

1 *Hist of Tirhut* 1922 p 174 fn 2 Another less known tradition is recorded in fn 3 Vidyabhūsana (*l c* p 142) is quite wrong to mention Manroni as his birth place All the local traditions about Udayana should be carefully collected and properly investigated There was a famous Udayanacarya in the *Bhaduri* family of the *Vārendra* Brahmanas of Bengal who is stated in their genealogical works to be author of the *Kusumāñjali* We quote a half verse from an old *Pañji* in our possession (fol 3a)

वेदान्तुद्धृतवान् निरस्य सकलान् बौद्धानसद्वादिनो
ग्रन्थश्रीकुसुमाञ्जलेरयमहो य सृष्टिकर्ता महान् ।

This widely current tradition is entirely baseless This Udayana Bhaduri introduced certain reforms in the *Vārendra* community with the help of the famous KullukaBhatta sometime after the reign of Ballala Sena He lived therefore, late in the 13th cent A D Moreover, *Kusumāñjali* alone

been published (by M M Vindhyeśvariprasāda in the Introd to the *Nyāyavārtika*, 1916) forming the 30th chapter of the *Bhavisyapurāna-Parisista* which is on the face of it a recent work It narrates the interesting story of his academic contest with a Buddhist scholar who came to the royal court of Mithilā with disciples and books for the purpose. Udayana came out successful in the debate which lasted for several days and a miracle performed by the Buddhist before a Sālagrāma was countered by Udayana by a greater miracle In the final ordeal they both jumped from the top of a palm tree in which Udayana escaped unhurt and the Buddhist died Udayana was highly honoured by the Lord Jagannatha at Puri as His own incarnation and died a natural death in old age at Kāsi It is clearly stated that his descendants were still living in Mithilā —

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स एवोदयनाचार्यश्चिक्राय कुसुमाञ्जलिम् ।
तीर्थपर्यटने लब्ध तस्माद् गौडे प्रचारितम् ॥

The Pauranic version of the story seems to be more reliable Academic contests were the rule in those days, and Udayana's contest with a proud Buddhist scholar in the presence of the king of Mithilā seems to be substantially true

We append below an alphabetical list of authorities cited directly and indirectly by Udayana in his works This list is obviously not exhaustive and the classical works—the Bhāsya, Vārtika and Praśastapādabhāsya as well as the names of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti are omitted. We have attempted to collect all available information about some of the prominent names in the list.

ANIRUDDHA the name of this ancient author was traced by us in the *Didhiti-tikā* of Rudra Tarkavāgīśa (grandson of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa) of Navadvipa, who composed it about 1660 A.D.[1] There are two references both on the denotation of a pronoun. It now appears that he is probably identical with the author of the *Vivarana pañjikā*, a commentary on the *Bhāṣya, Vārtika* and *Tātparya.* In Udayana's *Pariśuddhi* the comment of a previous commentator on the *Tātparyatīkā* is cited and refuted in the following passage अनेनैव कारणमविद्यातृष्णे कार्यां प्रवृत्तिरनुषङ्गिणौ धर्माधर्माविति टीकाव्याख्यानमपहस्तितम् । (pp 74-5).
(cf. *Tātparyaṭīkā*, Vizianagram ed., p. 6, line 7). Whether this is a reference to Aniruddha we cannot say. It is our conjec-

1 *Didhiti-Raudrī* is an extremely rare book there is a unique Ms copy preserved in the Alwar Maharaja's Library A complete transcript in 349 folios was very kindly procured and lent to us by Maharajakumar Dr. Raghubir Sinha of Sitamau The two passages of Aniruddha are found in fol 21b & 22a For Rudra's date and works *vide* our Bengali book *Vange Navyanyayacarcā* pp 144-47 For Aniruddha's newly discovered commentary *vide* Dr J S Jetly's paper in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, Dec 1954 to March 1955, pp 240-44 It is really surprising that a 17th century scholar of Navadvīpa could mention the long lost name of an ancient authority on the *Nyaya* who probably preceded Udayana

ture that the following passage of the *Pariśuddhi* (fol. 94b under I. i. 40) may be a reference to Aniruddha :—अत एव विषयाकाराणां संकुलानीव वचांसीति तदत्र निपुणेन भवितव्यम् ।

KANDALI-KĀRA : In the whole history of Indian Logic there is only one author Śrīdharācārya who definitely stated the date of composition of his major and only surviving work, the *Nyāyakandalī*, and the date 913 Saka (991-2 A. D.) is happily beyond any dispute.[1] Rājaśekhara, a Jaina scholar, wrote a sub-commentary on the *Nyāyakandalī* in 1226 Śaka (1304 A.D.). He stated that the first commentary on the *Praśastapādabhāṣya* is the *Vyomavatī*, the second one the *Nyāyakandalī* and the third one is Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī*. In other words Śrīdhara of Bengal preceded Udayana. This chronological order is exactly corroborated by internal evidence abundantly found in the three great Vaiśeṣika classics. Though Udayana has not referred to Śrīdhara or his work by name he undoubtedly consulted his work and refuted his views at every step in the *Kiraṇāvalī*.

(i) Vādīndra explains the line प्रकरणशुद्धेः संग्रहपदेनैव दर्शितत्वात् (*Kiraṇāvalī*, Chowkh. ed., p. 5) as a refutation of Śrīdharā-

1. Vizianagram ed , p 331. In the introd. (p. 22, fn. 5) the editor notes and rejects a variant 'varṣābde' for 'Śākābde' The variant is manifestly wrong, for the word 'varṣa' is a synonym of the word 'abda' and can by no stretch of exegesis be taken to mean the 'Vikrama-Samvat' Rājaśekhara's passage is cited in the Introd , pp 19-20 *Vide* also Peterson's third *Report*, 1887, p 273) For Śrīdhara's account *vide* our Bengali work *Vange Navyanyāyacharchā* p 6-8 He belonged to a village named Bhūriśṛṣṭi still existing in the Hughli district of West Bengal Śrīdhara's profound scholarship in all the six systems of philosophy, so much in evidence in his extant work, turned his native place into a famous seat of learning in Eastern India Kṛṣṇa Miśra, the court poet of Chāndella Kirtivarmā, about a century after Śrīdhara describes Mr Pride of his immortal drama *Prabodhachandrodaya* as an inhabitant of this very birth-place of Śrīdhara. Evidently the poet's attack was directed against a proud scholar, may be, of Śrīdhara's own family.

cārya :—इति श्रीधराचार्यस्तदनुपपन्नमित्याह - प्रकरणशुद्धेः (B.I. ed., p. 622 about to be published). Vādīndra (fl. about 1225 A. D.) is the earliest commentator on the *Kiraṇāvali* so far available.

(*ii*) Śrīdhara's well-known views about *tamas*, which he carefully recorded thrice in the *Kandalī* (pp. 9, 179, 240) apparently as his own, were discussed in the *Kiraṇāvalī* (B.I. Ed , pp. 111-12) and Vardhamāna definitely states here कन्दलीकारमतमुत्थापयति. Vardhamāna vouches for the Kandalīkāra's priority to Udayana also in the *Guṇaprakāśa* (S. B. Ed., p. 77 *vide Kiraṇāvalī*, Ben. Ed., p. 204).

(*iii*) The line कथं भावधर्माध्यारोपोऽभाव इति चेत् । न किंचिदेतत् (p. 110) is also exactly taken from the *Kandalī* (p. 9, last line).

(*iv*) Similarly the line पार्थिवपरमाणुगतरूपादिसंताने नैकान्तिकमिति चेन्न of the *Kiraṇāvalī* (p. 58) refers to the *Kandalī* (pp. 4, 11, 13-14).

(*v*) In the section on *ākāśa* (*Kiraṇāvalī*, Ben. Ed., p. 109) we find अन्ये त्वात्मान्तरग्राह्यत्वादिति अनेकप्रतिपत्तृसाधारणत्वादिति हेत्वर्थं वर्णयन्ति, स तु संदिग्धासिद्धः । This is also a clear reference to the *Kandalī* (p. 60) as stated by the late Mm. V. P. Dube (*vide Intr. to the Nyāyakandalī*, pp. 21-22).

(*vi*) In the section on *Pṛthivī* in the *Kandalī* (p. 31) we read :—परमाणुस्वभावायाः पृथिव्याः सत्त्वे किं प्रमाणम् ? अनुमानम् । अणुपरिमाणतारतम्यं क्वचिद् विश्रान्तं परिमाणतारतम्यत्वात् महत्परिमाणतारतम्यवत् . This argument is exactly reproduced in the *Kiraṇāvalī* (Ben. Ed., p. 52, B. I. Ed., p. 224) with the heading अपर आह and refuted. Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa in his *Dravyakiraṇāvalīrahasya* (*Ms* No. 139 of the Cal. Sans. College, fol. 88a) comments here—कन्दलीकारोक्तं परमाणुद्व्यणुकसिद्धिप्रयोजकमनुमानमाह - अपरस्त्विति । अणुपरिमाणतारतम्यमिति । Mathurānātha must have had access to an unknown source

in the present case, as he is not borrowing either from Vardhamāna or Padmanābha, both of whom are silent on the point.

(vii) In the second part (Gunakhaṇḍa) of his book also Udayana controverts the views of the *Kandalī* in several places. For instance we read on page 160 :—रूपत्वमिव गुणत्वमुपदेशापेक्षेण चक्षुरादिना प्रत्यक्षत एव प्रतीयते इति तु स्वशिष्यव्यामोहनं निमित्तमन्तरेणोपदेशस्यागममात्रत्वात्। This is a clear reference to the *Kandalī* (p. 94) and Udayana's manner of refutation seems to suggest that he had contact with Śrīdhara's pupils

(viii) The passage न तु स्वीयमेव रूपमस्य सहकारि (*Kiranāvalī*, p 176) is also a refutation of the *Kandalī* (p 104). Compare also p 266 of the *Kiranāvalī* (यत्तु...इति केचित्) with the *Kandalī* (p. 179).

It should be mentioned here that Śaṅkara Miśra in the *Kanādarahasya* stated three cases where the views of the *Kandalī* are refuted in the *Kiraṇāvalī* and in every case the views controverted belong not to the *Kandalī* at all but to the *Vyomavatī* *Vide Kanadarahasya* (pp. 81, 82 & 86) and the *Vyomavatī* (pp. 488, 494 & 502). The fact remains, however, that Śrīdhara's priority to Udayana was quite well-known in Śaṅkara's times

Before the publication of the *Kandalī* it was the opinion of MM. Vindhyeśvarīprasāda that Udayana preceded Śrīdhara, who wrote the *Kandalī* on the basis of the *Kiraṇāvalī* (Introd., 1941 V. S, p. 25). Subsequently he held the view that they were contemporaries and made a statement, which is on the face of it almost absurd that they cited each other's views (Introd. to the *Kandalī*, pp. 20-22). As a matter of fact the two instances of Śrīdhara's citation from Udayana referred to here (*ibid.* p 21 f n. 3) are quite wrong In the first instance Śrīdhara states that according to some scholars (and Udayana

is not certainly one of them) the age-difference between the young and the old is caused not by the time-element but by the number of revolutions of the sun (*Kandali* p. 64)—a view ascribed in the *Līlāvatī* (p 283) to the *Bhūṣaṇa* and found already cited in the *Vyomavatī* (p. 343) and the *Tātparyaṭīkā* of Vācaspati (p 280) In the second instance (*Kandalī* p 119) it is Udayana who violently criticises (p 204) Śrīdhara — नष्टस्यापि समवायिकारणत्वमिति त्वलौकिकमवैदिक च. Śrīdhara has nowhere referred to the peculiar views of Udayana, who proves himself to be far more advanced and intricate in his arguments than Śrīdhara, for instance on the subject of the perceptibility of *Vāyu* (*Kiraṇāvali* pp. 82-84, *Kandali* p 46) Nevertheless eminent scholars relying on the statement of the late MM. believed that Śrīdhara lived to refute the views of Udayana (Keith *Indian Logic and Atomism, 1921*, p 32 also *S. B. Studies*, Vol. III, pp 111-12)

KĀŚIKĀKĀRA A passage of the *Ātmatattvaviveka* (B. I. ed., p 837 तर्हि तर्कपरिशुद्धिरस्तु and cf. also *Kiraṇāvali*, p. 101 and *Nyāyalīlāvati*, Chowkh. ed. pp. 260 61) refers according to Saṅkara Miśra to Kāśikākāra i. e. Sucarita Miśra, author of the *Kāśika* on the *Ślokavārtika*. The variant Kaṇikākāra is evidently wrong as we are unable to trace the passage in Vācaspati's *Nyāyakaṇikā*. Moreover, this Kāśikākāra is cited also by Ratnakīrti in two of his tracts—*Īśvarasādhanadūṣaṇa* (p 42) and *Vyāptinirṇaya* (p 99) and Ratnakīrti elsewhere cites Vācaspati's *Kaṇikā* separately [1]

VYOMAŚIVĀCĀRYA —Udayana in the *Kiraṇāvalī* (p. 114) while explaining the argument establishing '*time*' as a separate entity quotes the following passage —

1. *Vide* Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī edited by Anantalal Thakur p 9 Also J B R S, XXXVII, Pt 3-4 Prof Thakur's paper "Ratnakīrti and his works" (p 4 of Reprint) The lower limit of Sucarita's date is now fixed at 1000 A D before the times of Udayana and Ratnakīrti These tracts of Ratnakīrti throw a flood of light on a dark age

न चात्माकाशौ तथा भवितुमर्हतो विशेषगुणवत्वात् पृथिव्यादिवदित्याचार्याः ।

The reference is evidently to Vācaspati (cf *Tātparyaṭīkā*, p. 280 अपि चाकाशात्मानौ न परापरव्यतिकरकारणम् असाधारणगुणयोगित्वात् पृथिव्यादिवत्). But curiously enough Vardhamāna in his gloss here definitely identifies this Ācārya with Vyomaśivācārya[1] and not Vācaspati. This can only be explained by the assumption that according to Vardhamāna Vācaspati came after Vyomaśiva. It should be noted in this connection that a careful study of the relevant passages of the *Vyomavatī* (pp 342-43), *Kandalī* (pp. 64 ; 168-9), *Tātparyaṭīka* (pp. 280-1) and *Līlāvatī* (p. 283), seems to show that all the scholars including Vācaspati attempted here to meet a familiar argument ascribed in the *Līlāvatī* to the *Bhūṣaṇa* (of Bhāsarvajña) —न च परत्वापरत्वसिद्धिरपि । बहुतरतपनपरिस्पन्दान्तरितजन्मत्वेनैव तदुपपत्ते· इति भूषण . Vyomaśiva preceded both Udayana and Śrīdhara. Let us give some references on the point. On p. 46 of the *Kandalī* the views of a scholar (*kaścit*) on the perceptibility of *vāyu* is refuted. The views belong to Vyomaśiva (pp. 272-4). Udayana (pp. 82-84) mainly agrees with Śrīdhara here but criticises one of his arguments न च स्पर्शमात्रमेव तत्र प्रतीयते । वायुस्त्वनुमीयते इति युक्तम् । On p. 52 of the *Kandalī* the grammatical explanation of the word धृत्तिलब्ध्वा is a direct answer to Vyomaśiva's objection (p. 300). The views of '*eke*' on p 134 & 136 are exactly taken from the *Vyomavatī* (pp. 474, 477). The scathing criticism of the solution of an 'un-schooled' intellectual (*Kandalī* p. 147) is also directed against Vyomaśiva (p 490) Compare also p. 200 of the *Kandalī* अन्ये तु with p. 563 of the *Vyomavatī*, here also Udayana agrees with Śrīdhara. On p. 392 of the *Vyomavatī* a temple apparently built by a contemporary monarch named Śrīharṣa is referred to by way of illustration श्रैहर्षं देवकुलमिति ज्ञाने । This monarch cannot certainly be identical with the great Harsavardhana who

1 Vardhamana's gloss is corrected in the *errata* as Vyomaśikhāchārya' but the reading Vyomaśivācharya' is found in a *Ms.* of *Kiranāvalīprakāśa* preserved in the *Vāngīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Calcutta (fol. 61b)

reigned about four centuries before Srīdhara. The latter's scathing remarks about Vyomaśiva (*Kandalī* pp. 146-47) point normally to a contemporary scholar, slightly senior to him. We are inclined, therefore, to identify the monarch with Śrīharṣa-deva of Mālava, the grandfather of the famous Bhojadeva. This Śrīharṣa's known dates range from 1005 to 1029 V. S. (948-72 A. D.). The *Vyomavatī* was written about 950 A. D. and quickly circulated among scholars of the different parts of India through the patronage of the Malava king Vyomaśiva was the pupil of a very distinguished scholar, who had written a number of dialectical tracts mainly against Buddhist views (*vide Vyomavatī* pp. 46, 189 308, 399, 546, 557, 565, 584 & 586). Unfortunately his name is not mentioned by Vyomaśiva. A saint Vyomaśiva is abundantly eulogised in vv. 22-42 of the Ranod stone inscription (*Ep. Ind*, I, pp. 351-61) and it has been suggested that he is identical with the present author (Introd. to *Tarkasangraha* G O S, p XIX, also *I.H Q.*, X, pp 165-6) But the undated inscription has been assigned to the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th cent. A. D. and unless the date is pushed back by half a century the identification cannot stand. It has been suggested (Journ G. Jha R I. Vol. III, p 44) that the date of the inscription along with that of Vyomaśiva and his patron Harsavardhana is about 645 A D. more than three centuries before the date indicated by paleography. This is on the face of it impossible and places the numerous authorities cited by Vyomaśiva (Dharmakīrti, Kumārila, Prabhākara and others) even before 500 A. D., of which we have not the slightest evidence yet discovered. Avantīvarman mentioned in the inscription is not the Maukhari king, but the Kaśmīr monarch who reigned in the 9th century A D. The statement that Vyomaśiva's views on Mokṣa have been cited by Maṇḍana and the Jaina scholar Akalaṅka cannot be substantiated

JÑĀNAŚRĪ : Udayana wrote the *Ātmatattvaviveka* to meet the arguments of Buddhist scholars and among them by far the

greatest target of his attack was Jñānaśrī Though he is mentioned by name only once in the book (B I. ed, p 292) we gather from Śankara Miśra's commentary that he is cited and refuted more than a dozen times (289, 292-3, 317, 356, 367, 371, 436, 453, 464-5, 489-90 & 841). The *Ātmatattvaviveka* is the very first work of Udayana and it should be carefully noted that the first stroke of his genius was brought forth by his conflict with the last and the greatest dialectician among Buddhist logicians viz. Ācārya Jñānaśrīmitra—a fact which is now entirely forgotten [1] The following facts about Jñānaśrī (who should not be confused with the Kashmirian Jñānaśrībhadra) should be carefully considered. As many as twelve of his dialectical treatises in original Sanskrit have been discovered in Tibet and their photographs are now preserved in the Bihar Research Society. These are क्षणभङ्गाध्याय, व्याप्तिचर्चा, भेदाभेदपरीक्षा, ईश्वरवाद, अनुपलब्धिरहस्य, सर्वशब्दाभावचर्चा, अपोहप्रकरण, कार्यकारणभावसिद्धि, योगिनिर्णय, अद्वैतबिन्दुप्रकरण, साकारसिद्धि and साकारसमहसूत्र Except कार्यकारणभावसिद्धि a small tract of only 6 folios none of his works nor any of the numerous works of his disciple Ratnakīrti have been translated into Tibetan. This proves that a period of decadence has already set in among the Buddhists and that they were losing in the intellectual fight with their opponents This is one of the reasons why Buddhism soon perished in India

Jñanasri's masterpiece is the क्षणभङ्गाध्याय and this was sharply attacked by Udayana in his youthful zeal in a masterly way. We shall refer here to one brilliant stroke of Udayana as an illustration Jñanasri summarises his arguments in favour of the theory of momentariness by the logical method of difference in one single verse —

धर्मस्य कस्यचिदवस्तुनि मानसिद्धा
बाधाविधिव्यवहृति किमिहास्ति नो वा ।
काप्यस्ति चेत् कथमियन्ति न दूषणानि
नास्त्येव चेत् स्ववचनप्रतिरोधसिद्धि ॥

1 Anantalal Thakur Jñanaśrīmitra and His works—JBRS Buddha-Jayanti Special Issue pp 186 92

This verse is quoted by Udayana in the *Pariśuddhi* (B. I. Ed. p. 713 यदुक्त ज्ञानश्रिया) and by Ratnakīrti (Tracts, p. 62) under the caption यथाहुर्गुरव But in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* it is fully answered with remarkable banter and biting criticism and hurled back at its author with the change of three words —शब्दस्य काचिदपि वस्तुनि अस्त्येव (B I Ed p 423) As typical instances of Udayana's early style we reproduce two of his remarks under this topic —त्वयैव ग्राहित शिष्य न चैव चेतनो ग्राहयितुमपि शक्यते ॥ तस्मादलमङ्गुलिदीपिकया ध्वान्तध्वसविधिमनुष्ठापयेति ॥ Jñānaśrī is also cited by Udayana in the *Pariśuddhi* under III ii 17 —अतोऽनवबुद्धटीकार्थेन ज्ञानश्रिया यत्किंचिदुक्त तन्न लगतीति । इत्येतावन्मात्रव्युत्पादनपरश्चाय गभीरतरो ग्रन्थमहाह्रद—सोऽयमुपरिपरिप्लवमानै कथमिवावगाह्यताम् । (Chap. 3 fol 13a) It is wonderful how apparently with maturity of age and scholarship Udayana gives up his bantering style altogether Even a banter of Jñānaśrī which he carefully reproduces here (तदिद भेदाभेदानुकरणवार्त्ता नैयायिकाना गोपसुखात्पायसमिष्टताश्रुतिमनुहरति (*ib* fol 13b) could not bring out a retort from him His answer was simple and dignified (तदेतदपि अनाकलितटीकार्थस्य व्याहृतम्) It is our conjecture that Jñānaśrī was alive when the *Ātmatattvaviveka* was composed but he was dead when the *Pariśuddhi* was written That may have been another reason for Udayana to adopt a sober style

Jñānaśrī according to Tibetan evidence was born in Gauda and was a pillar of Vikramaśilā in Magadha (Vidyabhusana p 341) When Naropanta just before his death visited Vikramaśīlā (in 1038 A D) 'he leaned on the right arm of Atīśa while Jñānasrīmitra helped him with his left arm" (Indian Pandits in Tibet, 1893, p 21) This proves that Jñānaśrī was junior in age to Naropanta and was a true contemporary of Atīśa or Dipankara Śrījñāna (982-1055 A D) By all circumstances of age attainments and provenance, therefore, Jñānaśrī was a formidable opponent of Udayana, whose eminence in the field of scholarship sprang from a desire to refute this Buddhist Philosopher and incidentally the first inception of the modern school of Logic resulted from the conflict.

Trilocana He was the professor (विद्यागुरु according to Vardhamāna) of Vācaspati as stated by himself (*Tātparya*, p 87) Udayana informs us that though a considerable literature based on the standard work *Vārtika* had been existing before Vācaspati (*Pariśuddhi*, p 9 बहवो निबन्धा सन्तीति) they failed miserably because the vigorous *Vārtika* tradition had long vanished. It was Trilocana who revived it. Jñānaśrī at the end of his masterpiece regarded him as one of the great pillars of Indian Logic —(J B R.S , XXXVI, pt. 1-2)

दुर्नीताश्रमवेदिकाद्दढतरस्तम्भानमून् शकर-
न्यायालकरण त्रिलोचन-वचस्पत्याह्वयान् हेलया ।
उन्मूल्य क्षणभङ्ग एष विहितो यत् पुण्यमाधत्त मे
तेन स्तात् परपारगस्त्रिभुवने ज्ञानश्रियोऽय जन ॥

Actual passages from Trilocana were hitherto almost untraceable in the classical works. Only one reference to him we could trace in the *Pariśuddhi* under III ii 17, where Vācaspati's passage beginning with यदि मन्येत (p 388 last line) is according to Udayana (fol 12b), a refutation of Trilocana A much more important reference is found in the following passage of *Nyāyasāravicāra* by Bhatta Rāghava (Ms. No 65 of the Sarasvatī Bhavana, dated 1252 A D) —ये तु दृष्टान्तदोषद्वारेणाभासा अभिहितास्ते यथा (दृष्टान्तदोषनिश्चयान्निश्चितास्तथा तद्दोषसंदेहात् संदिग्धा इति यत् स्वसमत तत् त्रिलोचनाचार्यसमत) मित्याह—अन्ये त्विति । (fol 39a the portion within brackets is restored in the margin *vide Nyāyasāra* B I ed p 13) This makes Trilocana earlier than Bhāsarvajña Many important facts are now available about Trilocana from recently published Buddhist works In Ratnakīrti's *Sarvajñasiddhi* (p 18) there is a quotation from Trilocana's *Nyāyaprakīrnaka*. In Durveka Miśra's *Dharmottarapradīpa* (Patna, 1955) there is a long quotation from Trilocana's *Nyāyabhāṣyaṭīkā* (pp 173-74) ending with the enigmatic phrase —तदेतत् कार्पटिककर्णाटरटितमश्रद्धेय धीमताम् ॥ A 'Karnāṭa in rags' probably points to his place of origin in the Karnāṭa country of South India. The most important discovery at the present

moment is the fact that Trilocana's masterpiece was named the *Nyāyamañjarī*, probably identical with the *Bhāsyaṭīkā* cited above His distinguished pupil Vacaspati in his earliest work the *Nyāyakaṇikā* distinctly mentions it in his obeisance to his professor in verse 3 at the beginning —

अज्ञानतिमिरशमनीं परदमनीं न्यायमञ्जरीं रुचिराम् ।
प्रसवित्रे प्रभवित्रे विद्यातरवे नमो गुरवे ॥

That this cannot be a reference to Jayanta's celebrated work will be convincingly proved by the following evidence Ratnakīrti wrote all his works as abridgments of larger works of his teacher Jñānaśrī[1] There is a quotation from Trilocana in a tract of Ratnakīrti (B I ed. p 58, Patna ed, p. 79) which is exactly borrowed from Jñānaśrī's *Ksanabhangadhyāya* But the latter refers it to the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī* (एतेन यदपि न्यायमञ्जरीकार प्राह). In a subsequent passage also Jñānaśrī clearly indicates that the *Nyāyamañjarī* is a work of Trilocana (यथा तर्हि त्रिलोचनश्चर्नयति तथानयोरपि नीयतामभिप्राय —तथा च न्यायमञ्जरी fol 15a) In his *Īśvaravādadūṣaṇa* Jñānaśrī quotes again from the *Mañjarī* of Trilocana (मञ्जर्यां त्रिलोचन पुनराह fol 22b)[2] It will now be quite clearly understood that Aniruddha's numerous reference to the *Mañjarī* (J O I, Baroda, Dec 54–March 55, pp 241-44) are not to Jayanta at all as mistaken by the learned Doctor but to Trilocana. The first two important references by Aniruddha are under the Sūtras II. 1 20 21 which are not even touched by Jayanta. Aniruddha refers to Trilocana by name separately, but he does not seem to be acquainted with Jayanta or his work It should also be carefully noted that none of the Buddhist scholars ever referred to

1 Anantalal Thakur Ratnakīrti and His Works, J B R S, Vol XXXVII

2 We are indebted to Prof Anantalal Thakur of the Mithila Institute for kindly drawing our attention to these passages discovered by him after painful search The photographs of these valuable works are preserved in the Bihar Research Society (*vide* Prof. Anantalal Thakur's notes on Guru Trilochana in J B R S, Vol XLI, pt. IV, pp 508 10 & .C, Vol XIV No 1 pp 36-40)

Jayanta or his work. He was almost unknown in Eastern India, the venue of the great intellectual conflict between the Buddhists and the Tirthikas. A well-known definition of the term Vyāpti (स्वाभाविक सबन्ध) is really of Trilocana (Mokṣākara's *Tarkabhāṣā*, p 23)

Ratnakirti According to Śankara Miśra Udayana refuted the views of this Buddhist scholar in two places in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* (B I ed., pp. 435 & 462) Both the passages are traceable in the *Chitradvaitasiddhi*, a tract of Ratnakirti mentioned by himself in the *Kṣanabhangasiddhi* (B I ed , p 71, Patna ed p 90) and published recently from Patna (*vide Ratnakirtinibandhāvalī* 1957,). Ratnakīrti was a prolific writer Besides the ten works published he wrote at least three more, mentioned by himself, which are yet to be discovered. His works were mostly abridged from the elaborate and larger treatises of his teacher Jñānaśrī as stated by himself at the end of the *Sarvajñasiddhi* (p 28) that work was but a summary by 'worthy' Ratnakīrti who was frightened at the prolixity of his teacher (संक्षेपो मम रत्नकीर्त्तिकृतिनस्तद्विस्तरत्रासिन ।).[1] This proves that Jñānaśri reached the peak in the dialectics of the Buddhist Logic and he lived to witness the fright of his worthy pupil who failed to meet the trenchant criticisms of Udayana against his own teacher For it is our conjecture that like Jñānaśrī Ratnakīrti was alive when the *Ātmatattvaviveka* was written Instead he only gratified himself by reproducing the arguments of Jñānaśrī against Vacaspati. The latter's brilliant advice to his Buddhist opponent for 'silence' (*Tatparya*, p 115) is answered by Ratnakīrti (B I ed p 64) evidently in the language of Jñānaśrī, but the retort of Udayana remains unanswered Udayana's sarcastic reference to Jñānaśrī's lessons to his 'senseless' pupil is evidently meant as a fling at Ratnakīrti.

Rājakulapāda a Buddhist logician cited by Ratnakīrti (Patna ed p. 96) He preceded Vācaspati For under V ii 3

1 Introduction, Ratnakīrtinibandhāvali

Vācaspati (p 496) quotes an unnamed opponent (यत्पुनरुच्यते परै.) and refutes his arguments with the concluding remarks — सोऽयमीदृशोऽसत्प्रलापो भवद्भि शास्त्रे निबन्धनीयो न त्वस्माभिरिति, व्यक्तमिय राजकुलस्थितिरिति The same phrase also occurs under V i 17 (p 481) There is little doubt that in both the places the reference is to this hitherto unknown Buddhist scholar, who probably belonged to a royal family

SĀNĀTANI Saṅkara Miśra in his *Vādivinoda* (p 2) refers to this scholar, according to whom a debate ('kathā') is four-fold and not three-fold as almost universally regarded. The selfsame view of Sānātani is also referred to by Vācaspati Miśra II in the *Tattvāloka* (fol 82a) and the *Nyāratnaprakāśa* (fol 34a) as traced by us. It now appears that both Śaṅkara and Vācaspati derived their information from the following illuminating passage of the *Pariśuddhi* under I ii 1 —प्रौढगौड-नैयायिकमते चतस्र कथा । स प्रतिपक्षस्थापनाहीनो वितण्डेत्यत्र (१।२।३) जल्पवद् वादस्यापि 'परामर्शात् । पुरुषाभिप्रायानुरोधेन चतुर्थोदाहरणस्यापि उपपत्तेरिति सानातनि । एक एवायं कथामार्ग इति बाह्या । ते द्वे अपि तिस्र एवेति नियमयता निराकृते । (fol 95b *vide Tātparya*, p 215). This proves that Sānātani was an ancient *Ācārya* who preceded Vācaspati and belonged to Bengal. Under V. i 1 there is a discussion as to what is the gist of the whole chapter According to Sānātani &c it is scrutiny ('parīkṣā') and according to others, including presumably Vācaspati (p. 473) it is definition Udayana accepts the latter view (fol. 2a of Chap V of the *Pariśuddhi* : लक्षणमिति न्मम) Vardhamāna in the *Tattvabodha* elaborately brings out the arguments in favour of the former view characterising it as the older one (fol 3a —तत्र प्राचामिदमाकूतम्) Under V i 32 again Vardhamāna has a long and interesting discussion as to why the Sūtrakāra defined 'anityasama' before 'nityasama' by changing the order of his own list (in V i 1) Two former views on the intricate point are stated and rejected by Vardhamāna, who gave his own explanation in the matter (foll. 57-58), which as far as we know, is not touched by any other

commentator At the conclusion he raised the question whether the Bhāsyakāra was really responsible for this change of order and not the Sūtrakāra. On the authority of ancient *ācāryas* like Sānātani Vardhamāna positively asserted that it was done by the Sūtrakāra himself —अथ भाष्यकारस्यैवाय क्रमविपर्ययो न तु सूत्र-कारस्य इत्येव किं न स्यात्। मैव—सूत्रकारस्यैवाय क्रमविपर्यास इति पूर्वाचार्यैः सानातनिप्रभृतिभिरप्यभिधानात्॥ So the supreme authority of this ancient scholar of Bengal, who must have written a commentary on the Nyāyadarśana was still recognised in the times of Vardhamāna

Śrivatsa was the professor of Udayana himself This important fact which was quite unknown till recently, is now revealed through an examination of the unpublished portion of the *Pariśuddhi* Udayana begins each chapter of the *Pariśuddhi* with a prayer verse (*vide Tanjore Cat.* pp 4483-87) But the second chapter has the following additional verse —[1]

सशोध्य दर्शितरसा मरुकूपरूपा
टीकाकृत प्रथम एव गिरो गभीरा ।
तात्पर्यतो यदधुना पुनरुद्यमो मे
श्रीवत्सवत्सलतयैव तथा तथापि ॥

It is a fact that Vacaspati's commentary is expansive on the first chapter (forming about half of the whole book) where his profound exposition has been aptly described by Udayana as desert springs Udayana likewise exhausted his scholarship upon this chapter and disposed of the rest very briefly (the last four chapters of the *Pariśuddhi* together comprising only 62 folios out of a total of 165) after taking lessons, it now appears, from Śrivatsa There are five quotations from Śrivatsa in the *Pariśuddhi* The first one under II 1 68 runs —(fol 58b of

1 The reading in the Tanjore Ms (Cat, p 4484) is corrupt We have given above the reading found in two Mss (No 49 & 51) of the Sarasvati Bhavana Varanasi which agrees with that of the older copy (1501 Vikrama Samvat) preserved in rotograph in the Mithila Institute, except that for वथा in the last line it reads तथा

Ms No 51 of the Sarasvatī Bhavana) ननु पदसमूहाना वाक्यानामित्य-सगत नहि वाक्यमपि स्वार्थे सकेतग्रहमपेक्षते पूर्वापरविरुद्ध चेति । यदूचे स्वयमेव 'न पद तदर्थो वा वाक्यार्थबोधे लिङ्ग तत्र सबन्धग्रहानपेक्षणाद्" इति (तात्पर्यटीका पृ० २८०) *श्रीवत्स* । अत्रोत्तर—वाक्यान्यपि कचित् सकेत्यन्ते यथा कारयावभूवे-त्यादि । तदभिप्रायेणेय टीका ॥ Srivatsa is here finding fault with Vācaspati exactly quoting his words which are defended by Udayana. So Srivatsa was definitely junior to Vacaspati Under II ii 1 (fol 59a) Śrivatsa answers the charge of overlapping of matter in the two parts of the chapter The next quotation from Śrīvatsa is as follows —(from a Ms in our possession also fol 6ab of the rotograph chapter III)

एव पञ्चभि प्रकरणैरात्मा परीक्षित । शरीरमिदानीं परीक्ष्यते, अत्र *श्रीवत्स* —नन्वात्मपरीक्षारूपैकार्थतया मिथ साकाङ्क्षताया एकवाक्यतया च कथ नामीभिरेक-माह्निकमिति, उच्यते, शरीरादिप्रकरणानामारम्भणीयाना तृतीयाध्यायानुप्रवेशस्य प्रागेव समर्थितत्वात् आह्निकान्तर्भूताना च तद्व्याघातात् स्वरूपतश्चोपसग्राहकस्योपा-धेरभावात् द्वितीयाह्निकोपाधिना चानुपसग्रहात् पारिशेष्यात् प्रथमोपाधिनैव क्रोडी करणम् । न चात्मपरीक्षारूप उपाधिस्तथा भवितुमर्हतीति नासावाह्निकोपाधि किं तु पूर्वोक्त एव । तत् किमेषा प्रकरणानामात्मपरीक्षा नार्थो न वा विवक्षित । नन्वर्थोऽपि विवक्षितोऽपि नाह्निकोपाधिरिति ब्रूम । प्रधानतया हि यो यस्यार्थ स तत्रोपाधिरिह विवक्षितो न तु प्रसङ्गत उपोद्घातत प्रपञ्चतो वा । इह च प्राधान्यादात्मपरीक्षा प्रथम-प्रकरणार्थ एव । दर्शनस्पर्शनाभ्यामेकार्थग्रहणादित्यनेन हि (३।१।१) व्यवस्थित विषयेभ्य इन्द्रियेभ्योऽव्यवस्थितविषयमात्मान साधयता शरीरादिभ्योऽपि व्यतिरेक साधित एव, केवल शिष्यबुद्धेर्विशदीभावाय उत्तरत्र प्रपञ्च्यते । तस्माद्यथोक्तमेव न्याय्यमिति । एतेनान्यत्रापीन्द्रियद्वैतादिप्रकरणेषु सगतिरनुसधेयेति ॥ (fol 7b under III i 27 cf *Tatparyatika* Vizia Ed p 363)

The topic of consistent relation between the different Prakaranas forming a chapter dealt with here marks a distinct improvement upon Vācaspati's gloss where it is not touched upon Udayana reproduces the arguments of Srivatsa here with approval In the next quotation under III ii 66 (*Tātparya* p 409) Srivatsa finds out a fallacy not detected by Vācaspati

and here again Udayana seeks to defend Vācaspati by a simple *addendum* :—(fol. 18a of the rotograph) नित्यैर्मन.प्रभृतिभिरेवानैकान्तिकं तेषां पुरुषगुणप्रेरितभूतपूर्वकत्वाभावेऽपि पुरुषार्थक्रियासमर्थत्वादिति *श्रीवत्सः* । सत्यं—कार्यत्वे सतीति तु विशेषणाददोषः ॥ In the last quotation under V. ii 1 Srivatsa finds fault, this time, with the Sūtrakāra for the absence of compound in the Sūtra and here again Udayana answers his objection : (fol. 16a of Baroda Ms. of chapter V the name of Śrivatsa is omitted in the rotograph, fol. 7) प्रतिज्ञाहानिरित्याद्यसमासः निष्प्रयोजन. निग्रहस्थानानां परस्परानपेक्षत्वसूचनायेति चेत्—जातिष्वप्येतत्समानमित्यसमासप्रसक्तिरिति *श्रीवत्सः* । अत्रोत्तरं—समशब्दाभ्यावृत्तौ सूत्रगौरवात् अनावृत्तौ संज्ञानुपपत्तेश्च समास ॥ Whether Udayana has quoted these passages from any written work of Śrivatsa or from his verbal lessions it is not possible to determine at present. As no quotation of Śrivatsa is traceable anywhere else up till now it may be conjectured that Śrivatsa, who presumably like his distinguished pupil belonged to Mithilā, did not write any book.

Vācaspati : Wrote the *Bhāmatī*, one of the classical works of the Śaṅkara school of the *Vedānta*, towards the end of his life. He mentioned therein all the previous works of his own in the following order ·

यन्न्यायकणिका-तत्त्वसमीक्षा-तत्त्वबिन्दुभिः ।
यन्न्याय-सांख्य-योगानां वेदान्तानां निबन्धनैः ॥

Of these seven works the second *Tattvasamīkṣā*, a commentary on the pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta work of Maṇḍana named *Brahmasiddhi*, is lost. The rest raises Vācaspati to a position of supreme authority in all the five systems of Indian philosophy (omitting the Vaiśeṣika which was ignored by him)—a position quite unique in the whole history of Indian culture. We are concerned here only with his Nyāya work, the *Tātparyaṭīkā*, which earns for him in the field of Indian Logic the title of Ṭīkākāra or better Tātparyācārya,[1] both used by Udayana. His success in this single work was quite extraordinary, as he pushed out

1. Thakur . Tātparyācārya, J.A S.B , Vol. XVII , 1951, pp 240-43.

of existence all the previous works upon the *Bhāṣya* or the *Vārtika.* And it is a long list, as we can gather from recent discoveries.[1] Among those who controverted Buddhist views and wrote commentaries, like Udyotakara, on the *Bhāṣya* Prīticandra and Bhāvivekta preceded Dharmakīrti and Aviddhakarṇa came after him (*vide Vādanyāya* with comm., 1936, pp. 88, 96, 140 & 142 · also 35, 40, 78, 92 & 109). Durveka mentions three later names Adhyayana, author of the *Rucīṭīkā* (*Dharmottarapradīpa*, p. 175), Trilocana (pp 173-4) and Viśvarūpa (p. 175). All their works have perished due to Vācaspati's pre-eminence

Vācaspati undoubtedly belonged to Mithilā. We mention two local traditions. According to some he belonged to the village Makaranda in Mithilā.[2] According to a note left by Chandā Jhā, the famous poet of Mithilā , Vācaspati belonged to the village वडगाम within the Pargana निशङ्कपूरकूढा now situated in Saharsa district forming the eastern boundary of Darbhanga. There is a couplet of Chandā Jhā, where eight adjacent villages, including Baḍagām, are mentioned as the place of Vācaspati –

वरसम बरइठ बसनही वेलइठ श्रो बडगाम ।
बलिया बडिबन बथनहा श्रीवाचस्पतिधाम ॥

The names of all the villages, it is curious to notice, begin with the same letter. Vacaspati's place of origin in Mithilā can be confirmed from internal evidence found in his works. For instance, in the *Nyāyakaṇikā* (p. 301) as an illustration of an intricate argument occurs the following remarkable passage — न खलु पाटलिपुत्रे उपलब्धस्य प्रासादस्य *शिलाहृदे* स्मरन्नभ्रान्तः । Silāhrada, which must have been a famous place in Vācaspati's times is difficult to identify now. It was the birth-place of Mādhavakara,

1. Thakur ; Introduction Ratnakīrtinibandhavalī

2 *Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, Calcutta, Vol 11 (1904 A.D.), p. 75. The story of Vācaspati and his wife named Bhāmatī is related in this paper. We are not aware where the village is situated. The next tradition seems to be more reliable.

Dharmottara flourished under King Vanapāla in the middle of the 9th century A D, though Vanapāla is a mythical name coming after the first four or five names of the Pāla dynasty. (Vidyābhūṣana pp 329 & 518 Also *Pag Sam*, Index, p xxxiv read Vanapāla for Nayapāla) A more definite reference to Dharmottara is found in the *Rājataranginī* (IV. 498) under the reign of Jayāpīda (*circa* 800 A.D.) thus —

स स्वप्ने पश्चिमाशायां लक्षयन्नुदय रवे ।
देश धर्मोत्तराचार्ये प्रविष्टे साध्वमन्यत ॥

This clear date for both Dharmottara and Mandana cannot be lightly brushed aside. There is evidence that a long period of time, say about a century, intervened between Mandana and Kumārila. Mandana not only quoted exact passages of Kumārila and Prabhākara (and the latter came after Kumārila) but, according to Vācaspati views of an 'old school of Prabhākara' (जरत्प्राभाकरमत) are cited by him (*Nyāyakanika* pp 96 & 109). Tāranātha, the Tibetan historian, records in a true historical spirit the views of two ancient historians on the exact date of the foundation of the Pāla dynasty by Gopāla I According to Indradatta Gopāla was elected *one year* after what must have been a famous event in those times viz the death of Āchārya Mīmāmsaka" ('spyod pa') while according to Ksemendra-bhadra it was seven years after that event (Schiefner, 1869, p. 204) The reference is evidently to Kumārila who died thus in the first or second decade of the 8th century A D Mandana, therefore cannot be placed before 800 A D

There is again a long interval of time between Mandana and Vācaspati For, in the *Nyāyakanikā* (p 109) Vacaspati distinguishes between an 'old' and a 'new' school of Prabhākara The views ascribed in the passage under *discussion to the new* school are identical with those of Sālikanātha (*vide Rjuvimalā*, Madras ed, p 37 Chowkh. ed, pp 29-30) who therefore founded a new school of Prabhākara long after Prabhākara and

Maṇḍana. He cannot thus be a direct disciple of Prabhākara and was only slightly senior to Vācaspati, who refers to him as 'navīnāḥ'. Sālikanātha's reference to himself as प्रभाकरगुरोः शिष्यः does not mean direct discipleship, as interpreted by most of the scholars, but only affiliation. Śrīdhara similarly refers to Kumārila in the *Kandalī* as 'Guru' (pp. 248 & 257) and 'Mīmāṃsā-guru' (p. 220). The earliest date that can be assigned to Vācaspati is 900 A. D. about a century after Maṇḍana.

(2) Maṇḍana was an earlier contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya, whose date cannot be placed before 800 A. D. As Vācaspati has refuted the views of Śaṅkara's opponent Bhāskara in the *Bhāmati*, we cannot place Vācaspati before 900 A. D.

(3) Śrīdhara, the Kandalīkāra was thoroughly acquainted with the works of Maṇḍana (*vide Kandalī* pp. 218, 256, 271 & 274). He has cited and refuted the views of Maṇḍana in the *Vidhiviveka* (p. 274 : वद्गाहितत्वात्तस्य शक्तिरिति *vide Vidhiviveka* p. 231), but he was quite unacquainted with Vācaspati, who gave here (pp. 231-32) two illuminating interpretations of the particular passage of Maṇḍana. Śrīdhara, moreover, in his famous dissertation on *tamas* (darkness) quotes two couplets of an unknown author :—(pp. 9-10)

तदुक्तम्—

न च भासामभावस्य तमस्त्वं वृद्धसंमतम् ।
छायायाः कार्ष्ण्यमित्येवं पुराणे भूगुणश्रुतेः ॥
दूरासन्नप्रदेशादिमहदल्पचलाचला ।
देहानुवर्त्तिनी छाया न वस्तुत्वाद्विना भवेत् ॥

The same verses are cited by Vācaspati in the *Nyāyakaṇikā* as from अत्रभवान् वार्त्तिककारः (p. 76) with considerable variation of readings ; there are five lines in Vācaspati as against four lines of the *Kandalī*. This proves that they drew from independent sources unknown to each other. Śrīdhara refutes at some length the views of the Sāṅkhyas on *Satkāryavāda* and the ancient verse असत्वान्नास्ति संबन्धः is cited there. A[illegible]

a famous Vaidyaka author who is usually claimed as a Bengali and lived about 900-925 A. D.[1] Presumably Vācaspati lived somewhere between Pāṭaliputra in Magadha and Silāhrada in Bengal. There cannot be any doubt that Vācaspati was a native of Eastern India In the *Bhāmatī* under I. iii. 1 Vacaspati mentions an unusual word 'Hadi' in the following passage — पारावारमध्यपाती हि सेतु ताभ्यामवच्छिद्यमानो जलविधारको लोके दृष्ट न तु बन्धहेतुमात्रम्—हडिनिगडादिष्वपि प्रयोगप्रसङ्गात् । The word is explained in the *Kalpataru* as a wooden frame with holes to bind criminals by the leg (यत्र तु दारुणि छिद्रिते निग्राह्याणां पादप्रोतन तद्धडि) In this peculiar sense the word is still used in Mithilā. The only lexicon where the word occurs is the *Sabdamālā* of Rāmeśvara (हडि काष्ठस्य यन्त्रणे) from which it was borrowed in Wilson's dictionary and the *Śabdakalpadruma* Vācaspati's peculiar verdict (*Tatparyatīkā*, p 346) on mustard oil, respected in Bengal and Mithilā may also be regarded as a corroboration of his Maithila origin

VACASPATI'S PATRON At the end of the *Bhāmatī* Vacaspati paid a glowing tribute to a monarch named N R G A, who was reigning when that work was finished The panegyric in a couple of verses though oft quoted is reproduced below as it requires to be carefully analysed now under a new light

नृपान्तराणां मनसाप्यगम्यां भ्रूक्षेपमात्रेण चकार कीर्त्तिम् ।
कार्तस्वरासारसुपूरितार्थसार्थं स्वयं शास्त्रविचक्षणश्च ॥५
नरेश्वरा यच्चरितानुकारमिच्छन्ति कर्तुं न च पारयन्ति ।
यस्मिन् महीपे महनीयकीर्तौ श्रीमन्नृगेऽकारि मया निबन्ध ॥६

It appears that this monarch of holy renown has then reached the peak of his glory, his exemplary life providing an unattainable ideal for contemporary kings There is no direct reference here to his military success which must have ended long ago The *Bhāmatī* is the last work of Vācaspati. There is an important reference to a reigning monarch in the following passage

1 I.H.Q., XXIII pp 153-54

of his very first work, the *Nyāyakanikā* (p 290)[1] —यत्र तर्हि क्रियाद्वय प्रतीयते, यथा निजभुजवीर्यमास्थाय शूरानादिशूरो जयति तत्र कथ वाक्यार्थस्यैकत्वम्. । जयार्थं च *जिगीषोरादिशूरस्य* निजभुजवीर्याश्रयक्रिया इत्यप्रधानत्वान्न वाक्यार्थ —विजयक्रियैव तु प्राधान्यात्तथा ॥ It is tempting to identify this monarch with Ādiśūra of Bengal who is credited in all genealogical works of Rādhīya and Vārendra Brahmanas with inviting and settling their first ancestors within his dominions. But all reliable evidence places this Ādiśura of Bengal about 700 A D before the rise of the Pāla dynasty It is much more probable that Ādiśūra like Ādimalla is a honorific title and not a proper name at all It was apparently assumed by king N R G A when early in his career he was a conquering' (जिगीषु) monarch We heard a tradition in Mithila that Nrga belonged to the Gupta dynasty If Ādisūra is taken as his surname he might have belonged to an extinct Sūra' dynasty of Mithilā, a scion of which migrated to East Bengal early in the 14th century.

This brings us to the great problem of his date The following evidence, which seems to have escaped the notice of eminent scholars places him certainly in the 10th century A D and not before (1) Vācaspati aligns himself definitely to the school of Mandana both in Mimānsā and Vedanta In the *Nyāyakanika* a commentary on Mandana's *Vidhiviveka* there is an exact quotation from a Buddhist scholar —(p 187) यथोक्त भदन्तेन, बुद्धया कल्पितया विविक्तमपरैर्यद्रूपमुल्लिख्यते, तद्बुद्धिर्न बहिरिति ॥ The very same quotation is found also in the *Tatparyatīkā* (p. 339) under II ii 63 under the 'caption यथाह भदन्तधर्मोत्तर । Stcherbatsky has shown (Buddhist Logic I p 476 fn & II, p 405 ff) that the quotation is from the *Apohaprakarana* of Dharmottara preserved in Tibetan According to Vacaspati Mandana was refuting the views of Dharmottara in the original passage of the *Vidhiviveka* This makes Mandana a junior contemporary of Dharmottara According to Tibetan works

1 *Sahitya Parisat Patrikā* Vol 57, pp 66 70

appear that Śrīdhara was refuting the views of Vācaspati's *Tattvakaumudī* (under Kārikā 9), where the same old verse is also cited. But a close examination of the passages proves that the exact words cited and refuted by Śrīdhara (e. g यश्चोक्तम् असद्वाक्यकरणं व्योमकुसुमवदिति p. 144) do not belong to Vācaspati at all and the ancient verse is already cited in the older work *Yuktidīpikā* (p 61). The apologetic words uttered by Śrīdhara at the end of the discussion express his veneration to an unknown scholar certainly different from Vācaspati (अलं वृद्धेष्वतिनिर्बन्धेन) Similarly the Kārikā 67 explained in the *Kandalī* (p. 284) is unaware of Vācaspati's better comment on the word अकारणप्राप्तौ. The three lines of Kumārila cited by Śrīdhara in the chapter on Sāmānya (p 320) give again a reading somewhat different from that of Vācaspati in the *Nyāyakaṇikā* (p. 188) Śrīdhara quotes (p 30) a line thus —यथा च प्रायादुपप्रवाद् —एकं च चित्रं चेत्येतत्तच्च चित्रतरं ततं इति। Here again Vācaspati (*Tātparyaṭīkā*, p. 454) adopts a different reading. All these point to the inevitable conclusion that Śrīdhara and Vācaspati were close contemporaries and did not consult each other's works. They both belonged therefore, to the last half of the 10th century A. D.

(4) Trilocana preceded Bhāsarvajña as we have stated above. (p. 16) Trilocana's pupil Vācaspati was evidently junior to Bhāsarvajña For, in the *Tātparyaṭīkā* (pp 280-81 under II. 1 39) Vācaspati meets an argument ascribed in the *Līlāvatī* (p 283) to Bhūṣana i. e. Bhāsarvajña, author of the *Nyāyabhūṣana* Similarly Vācaspati was slightly junior to Vyomaśiva (q. v.), who wrote the *Vyomavatī* about 950 A D. Here again Vācaspati's close contemporaneity with Śrīdhara, who knew Vyomaśiva (and Bhāsarvajña), is confirmed.

(5) The earliest Buddhist scholar to refer to Vācaspati is, at the present state of our knowledge, Jñānaśrī (q v.), who is followed by his pupil Ratnakīrti and a much later author.

Mokṣākara gupta (*vide* the latter's *Tarkabhāṣā*, G. O. S., p. 24). Vācaspati is not mentioned even by so late an author as Durveka Miśra, who was a disciple of Jitāri and thus a co-pupil of Atiśa. Two of Durveka's works have have been published, the *Arcaṭāloka* (G. O. S) and the *Dharmottarapradīpa* (Patna, 1955). The sneering remarks of Jñānaśrī towards Vācaspati, as reproduced by Ratnakīrti and Udayana, prove that they were not separated by a large length of time. It now appears that Ratnakīrti adopted a strictly chronological order when citing the views of Śankara, Trilocana, Nyāyabhūṣaṇa and, last of all, Vācaspati in the *Kṣaṇabhangasiddhi* (B I. ed pp. 57-58). Jñānaśrī was living still in 1041 A. D. and Vācaspati, the last and the greatest target of his attack, cannot certainly be placed before the 10th century A. D.

(6) Among Hindu scholars the earliest to quote from Vācaspati is Udayana's teacher Śrīvatsa (q. v.), who must have been strictly a contemporary of Jñānaśrī, the period of activity of both of them can now be confidently placed in the first half of the 11th century A.D. (1000-1050 A.D.).

(7) The cumulative effect of all the above evidences can no longer be doubted. It is simply impossible now to refer the date 898 found in Vācaspati's *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* to the Vikrama era corresponding to 841-42 A D. This small tract of Vācaspati was evidently meant as a supplement to the *Tātparyaṭīkā*, as it is not mentioned separately among his works enumerated in the *Bhāmatī* It was thus composed along with his masterpiece the *Tātparyaṭīkā* in 898 Śaka i. e. 976-77 A. D. —a date which must have been very near the birth-dates of Jñānaśrī and Śrīvatsa, both of whom might have seen Vācaspati alive in their early youth. If the books were composed in 841-42 A. D. Vācaspati's literary activity must be taken to have commenced about 825 A. D., full two centuries before Jñānaśrī wielded his powerful pen for the first time among Buddhist

scholars to meet his arguments. On the other hand we must huddle together all the host of brilliant scholars that preceded Vācaspati just within half a century—Maṇḍana, Śaṅkara, Bhāsarvajña, Trilocana, Śālikanātha, Vyomaśiva &c. &c. On the face of it is an absurdity.

JINENDRA: Towards the end of the *Ātmatattvaviveka* Udayana mentions the names of several Buddhist scholars branding each of them with one or other of several stigmas. Some of the names are new and cannot be identified e. g. Sarabha, Kāṇācārya and Subhūti. The two scholars Jinendra and Jagadindu[1] though outside the Brahmanical Society, had written books which are universally respected; in other words their religion did not stand in the way of their proper appreciation. This Jinendra is identical with Jinedrabuddhi (as stated by the commentator Nārāyaṇācārya), the famous author of the *Kāśikāvivaranapañjikā*, commonly known as the *Nyāsa*, a classical work of the Pāṇini school of grammar. This huge work has been fully printed by the Rajshahi Museum and throws much new light on the problems connected with the composition of the *Kāśikā*. After a thorough examination of all available materials we had come to the conclusion that Jinendra lived in 800-850 A. D.[2] The facts are very briefly stated. Jayāditya wrote a complete *Vṛtti* about 650 A. D Vāmana, a Brahmanic scholar, revised the last three chapters not earlier than 700 A. D. This combined work, known as the *Kāśikā*, was explained by Jinendra not earlier than 800 A. D, for, Jinendra had referred to previous commentaries even on the later portion of Vāmana

This same Jinendrabuddhi had written a large commentary (the Tibetan version consisting of 349 leaves) named

1 D V Raghavan suggests that he may be identical with Joindu, Jain Antiquary

2 Introd to Paribhāsavṛtti &c of Puruṣottama published by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1946, pp 2 5

Viśālāmalavatī on Dignāga's *Pramānasamuccaya* Vidyabhusana (l. c p 323) gives his date as about 725 A. D, when Vāmana's portion of the *Kāśikā* was not yet written or circulated According to Durveka Miśra the following passage of Arcaṭa (who was identical with Dharmākaradatta *vide* pp. 233, 261 & 410) refers to Jinendra's gloss upon Dignāga —(Baroda ed , 1949, p 218)

> यदा ह्याचार्यस्याप्येतदभिमतमिति कैश्चिद् व्याख्यायते ।
> कैश्चिद् ईश्वरसेनजिनेन्द्रबुद्धिप्रभृतिभि (*ib* p. 405)

This piece of evidence proves that Arcata (and Dharmottara) cannot be dated before 800 A. D.

Dharmottara one of the greatest Buddhist authorities after Dharmakīrti. He is cited both by Vācaspati and Śrīdhara (q v). In the *Ātmatattvaviveka*, according to the interpretation of Śankara Miśra, Udayana had refuted Dharmottara in one place (B I. ed p 296). The actual passage of Dharmottara has been quoted by Śankara Dharmottara flourished according to the *Rajatarangini* (IV. 498) in the reign of Jayāpīda of Kasmira (*c.* 800 A. D). This date is corroborated by the references in the *Arcatāloka* (Baroda, 1249) Arcata identical with Dharmākaradatta (*ib.*, pp 232, 241 & 410) was the teacher of Dharmottara according to Tibetan evidence (Intro p xi) At any rate Dharmottara undoubtedly came after Archata (*vide* Durveka's comm. pp 240, 242-3, 377) According to Durvka (p 405) Archata has referred to Jinendrabuddhi in one place (p 218) and Jinendra (q v.) cannot be placed before 800 A. D. Dharmottara must, therefore, be placed in the first half of the 9th century A.D, as the Tibetan historians recorded.

Prajñākara cited by Udayana in the *Pariśuddhi* (pp 667-8 & 730) The verse cited is evidently from Prajñākara's masterpiece the *Pramānavārtikālankāra*. Udaya

in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* (B. I ed , p 907) has recorded the important tradition about Prajñākara that like Dharmkīrti he was driven out from the orthodox Brahmanic society and had no other way but to accept Buddhism Tibetan historians place him in the 10th century A D (Vidyabhusana l. c. p 336)

MAHĀVRATA In the *Kusumāñjali* Udayana in his discussion on *ksanikatva* (Stavaka IV, p 17) has cited and refuted the views of the 'followers of Mahāvrata' (महाव्रतीया) In the first Stavaka also in the context of Kārikā 12 (p 57) the views of Mahāvrata have been criticised according to the interpretation of Varadarāja (p 31) who cites the following verse of Mahāvrata thereon

कुसुमे बीजपूरादेर्यल्लाक्षाद्यवसिच्यते ।
शक्तिराधीयते तेन काचित्ता किं न पश्यसि ॥

The *Nyāyalīlāvatī* of Śrīvallabhācārya quotes the same verse in a brilliant passage which is an elaboration of Udayana's words with an additional half verse from Mahāvrata in the section on Samskara (pp. 647 48)

मृद्मपि विप कश्चिन्मन्त्र करोति नियोजित ।
सृजति तदसौ काचिच्छक्तिं मृदोऽतिविमोहिनीम् ॥

Mahāvrata is also cited in Bhavanātha's *Nayaviveka* (Madras ed , p 273) There is an important quotation from Mahāvrata in M M. Chandra's *Amrtabindu* (Ms. No III F. 149 of Asiatic Society, fol 45a) which ends —अतएव व्रात्यतापरिहारोऽध्ययनकृते प्रयोजनमिति महाव्रत । Krsna Miśra in his allegorical drama *Prabodhachandrodaya* paints Mr Pride (Ahamkāra') as well read in the advanced courses of studies then prevailing in Eastern India , of the six classical works mentioned (Act II, v. 3) 'Māhāvratī' is the last of all All the works belong to the Bhatta and Prabhākara schools of the Mīmāmsā According to the well informed commentator of the drama Nāndilla Gopa, Mahāvrata belonged to the Bhatta school and was a rival of the Prabhākara scholar Mahodadhi who was a class mate of Sālika

nātha and the author of a treatise named *Siddhāntarahasya* (महान्नतो भट्टमतानुवर्त्ती महोदधिप्रतिस्पर्द्धी) All the four scholars Śālika, Mahodadhi, Vācaspati and Mahāvrata thus belonged to about the same age It is our conjecture, however, that the commentator has confused the affiliation of the two scholars Mahodadhi and Mahāvrata Mahodadhi belonged to the Bhatta school as he had refuted the well-known 'Anvitābhidhāna' theory of the Prabhākara school (*vide Nayaviveka*, p 271) Mahāvrata, therefore, belonged to the Prabhākara school and as a consequence he was cited with approval by M.M Chandra, who was an authority of the Prabhākara school and referred in his work to the classics of his own school alone.

Śaṅkarācārya This logician should be carefully distinguished from the great founder of the Advaita Vedānta. He was the earliest among orthodox scholars of Nyāya whose views were refuted by the Buddhist scholars Jñānaśrī (q. v) and his pupil Ratnakīrti mention his name first of all, suggesting that he preceded both Trilocana and Bhāsarvajña who are named next to him Ratnakīrti has preserved the name of one of his works the *Sthirasiddhi* from which a passage has been cited in the *Sthirasiddhidusana* (Patna ed. p. 108) Vācaspati in the *Tātparyatikā* has referred to him as stated by Udayana in the *Pariśuddhi* The passages are cited below

क्रमयौगपद्याभ्यामतिरिक्त' तृतीय. प्रकारः प्रतीतश्चेत् प्रतीतत्वादेव न निषेध्यः न चेत् नतरामिति शङ्कराचार्यः । तन्नाह—तथा हीति । (under III. ii. 17; Tātparya, p 387, line 14)

ननु नानयोरेव क्रमाक्रमयोर्मिश्रीभावः प्रकारान्तरमाशङ्कितं शङ्कराचार्येण कि त्वन्यदेव किंचिदनुनयात्मकं भविष्यति । यथा परैरस्मदभिहिते स्वाभाविके प्रतिबन्धे पिशाचायमान. कश्चिदुपाधिरिति । तदुत्थाप्य दूषयति—स्यादेतदिति । (*ib*, p 387, last line: both from fol. 12b of the third chap. of the *Pariśuddhi* preserved in rotograph in the Mithilā Institute) Both the passages are evidently taken from the *Sthirasiddhi* of Śaṅkara.

It should be noticed that Vācaspati criticises Sankara's argument in the last case

ननु विकल्प्य शङ्कराचार्येण दूषितमेतत्—नीलादीनामप्रतिपत्तावाश्रयासिद्धतया प्रतिपत्तौ धर्मिग्राहकप्रमाणबाधितयेत्यत आह नीलादयो हीति । (fol. 38b of a Ms in our possession under IV ii. 35. *vide Tātparya*, p. 465, line 11).

This passage also seems to have been taken from the *Sthirasiddhi* [1]

Sankarācārya is also cited in the Nyāyapariśiṣṭa (p. 17) as the head of a band of scholars differing from the Bhāṣya-vārtikaschool.

This Śaṅkara should also be distinguished from the earlier Śankara Svāmin referred to in Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī* (p. 293) and other works.

ŚĀLIKANĀTHA According to Vardhamāna the following passage in the *Kiraṇāvalī* under the interesting topic of the ocular organ being made up of light or not, cited and refuted by Udayana, refers to Śālika.

केचित्तु ससर्गिद्रव्यतया निःसरदेव नायनं तेजो बाह्यालोकेनैकता गतं युगपदेव तावदर्थेन संसृष्टमिन्द्रियमुत्पादितवदिति शाखाचन्द्रमसोस्तुल्यकालग्रहणमुपपद्यत इति समाधानमाहु । तदसत् । (Chowkh ed , p 75, B I ed , p 288) Vardhamāna notes in the *Dravyaprakāśa* शालिकमतं दूषयितुमुपन्यस्यति । (Vangīya Sāhitya Parisat Ms. No. 1649, fol. 42a) The passage is very important, as pointing to the interesting fact, hitherto unknown, that Śālikanātha commented on the *Praśastapādabhāṣya* This is clearly stated by Chennubhaṭṭa in the *Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā* (Bombay ed., p 211) where another passage is cited —मृत्पिण्डपाषाणादिलक्षण. शरीरेन्द्रियव्यतिरिक्तो विषय इति शालिकनाथ प्रशस्तपादभाष्यव्याख्याने न्यरूपयत् । The *Rasasāra*

1 Some Lost Nyaya Works and Authors —Proceedings, AIOC, Ahmedabad

(pp. 100-1) also quotes him upon Praśastapāda. Moreover, as is now well-known, Udayana's twitting reference to a 'Gauḍa' Mīmāṁsaka, who confounds verses from the *Manusaṁhitā* as Vedic texts (!), is according to Varadarāja's note (p. 123) a fling at the 'Pañcikākāra' (i e. Śālikanātha). Under the same topic (*Kusumāñjali*, Chap. III) Udayana in his own brilliant manner answers Śālikanātha directly with the change of a single word (आम्नानाम् in place of पदानाम्) in the latter's verses .—

प्राथम्यादभिधातृत्वात्तात्पर्योपगमादपि ।
आम्नानामेव सा शक्तिर्वरमभ्युपगम्यताम् ॥

(*vide* Varadarāja's *Kusumāñjalibodhanī*, 1922, p 127). Śāliknātha was the greatest authority of the Prabhākara school of the Mīmāmsā He wrote three *Pañcikās*, the *Ṛjuvimalā* (on the *Bṛhatī* of Prabhākara), the *Dīpaśikhā* (on the *Laghvī*), and the standard work of the school, the *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, besides a *Bhāṣyapariśiṣṭa*. His works, though written in Bengal, circulated quickly throughout India. He preceded Vācaspati (q. v.). The following humorous verse is current about him in South India —

शालिकनाथवन्मूढो न जातो न जनिष्यते ।
प्रभाकरप्रकाशाय येन दीपशिखा कृता ॥

Bhāskara the famous exponent of the *Dvaitādvaita* theory of the Vedānta. He has been cited by Udayana in the *Kusumāñjali* (II, p 67 : ब्रह्मपरिणतेरिति भास्करगोत्रे युज्यते Vardhamāna notes भास्करस्त्रिदण्डिमतभाष्यकारः). It is well-known that in his Bhāsya, published at Varanasi, he refuted Śaṅkarācārya and the views of the Buddhist scholar Dharmakīrti, whom he calls 'Vipra-Bhikṣu' (p. 123). His views have been cited and criticised by Vācaspati in the *Bhāmatī*

Bhūṣaṇa : i. e. Bhāsarvajña, author of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* a commentary on his own *Nyāyasāra*. The book, which is

almost indispensable for studies on the history of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature, remains yet to be published, though it was discovered long ago in a Jaina library beyond the reach of scholars (*Gaṇakārikā*, Baroda ed , Introd p. 1). As long ago as 1859 A. D., Hall knew (Index, p 26) that the *Bhūṣaṇa* was a work of Bhāsarvajña, though there was much confusion later on. Udayana cited and refuted the Bhūṣaṇa several times in the *Kiraṇāvalī* All the passages are interesting and are, therefore, reproduced below

(1) यत् पुनराह भूषणे—लक्षणं चिह्नं लिङ्गमिति पर्याय इति, तदसत्। (Chowkh ed., p.43)

(2) तस्माद्वरं भूषणे—कर्मापि गुणस्तल्लक्षणयोगादिति, न। (ib., p. 160).

(3) एतेन स्वरूपाभेद एकत्वं स्वरूपभेदस्तु नानात्वं द्वित्वमिति भूषणः प्रत्याख्यात । (ib., p 192).

(4) व्यधिकरणमपि कर्मैव विनाशकमस्तु। न चातिप्रसङ्ग, आश्रयाश्रितपरम्परासंयोगस्यैव विनाश्यत्वात्। न इति भासर्वज्ञमतनिरासः। (ib., p. 232 · compare *Lilāvatī* p. 856).

None of the above passages is traceable in the *Nyāyasāra*; so they were all taken from the *Nyāyabhūṣana*, a discursive work of great celebrity which earned for the author the epithet Bhūṣanakāra, by which he was almost universally known. The earliest writer, as far as can be ascertained from the present materials, who grappled with his views was the Buddhist scholar Jñānaśrī. The four great 'pillars' of Indian Logic (probably coming from four different quarters) were, according to Jñānaśrī, Śankara 'Nyāyālaṅkaraṇa', Trilocana and Vācaspati. For exigency of metre, the Bhūsana is mentioned by a synonym and before Trilocana. In the body of the books of Jñānaśrī and his disciple Ratnakīrti (q v) the name Nyāyabhūṣana is clearly given and correctly placed *after* Trilocana and before Vācaspati. Bhāsarvajña, who very probably belonged

to Kāsmīra, was slightly junior to Trilocana and slightly senior to Vācaspati and lived about the middle of the 10th century A D[1] It is known that in the Bhūṣaṇa the views of the Buddhist scholar Prajñākara are controverted. (Introduction to *Gaṇakārikā*).

UDAYANA'S PRE-EMINENCE Udayana through his numerous works secured a position in the learned world which was quite enviable From the 12th century onwards he was looked upon as the greatest exponent of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika doctrines and was the greatest target of all scholars of the opposing camps Deva Sūri (1086 1169 A D.), a foremost Jaina logician drew up a sharp contrast between Udayana and the Kasmirian Jayanta, both of them being his targets of attack. He wrote —

यद्त्र शक्तिसंसिद्धौ मज्जत्युदयनद्विप ।
जयन्त हन्त का तत्र गणना त्वयि कीटके ॥
(*Syādvadaratnākara,* Chap II)

Udayana's discourse on the Nyāya theory of causation and explanation of the term Śakti' involved in it is found in the *Kusumāñjali* (I, pp. 63-64). There is a magnificent pen-picture of Udayana found at the end of the first chapter of the *Pariśuddhi* which is cited below in full. It was probably written by an admirer who actually saw him alive.

वाचस्पतेरुपरि तत्त्वविचारदत्त-
तात्पर्यशुद्धिमकरोदुदयाभिधान ।
आशङ्कमान इव नाशमसौ स्वकीर्त्ति-
र्वाचस्पति पुनरिवोज्वलयाबभूव ॥
बुद्धिर्यस्य विचारणासु चतुरा वैदर्भगर्भाश्रया
स्फारस्फूर्जदनेकतर्कविशदव्याहारसंरम्भिणी ।

1 For his contributions etc vide *Bhūsanakāra O Bhūsanamata*—Vangiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrika, 1353, pp 22-32

कान्तिः शान्तिमयी तनुश्च नितरां वाणी सुधाश्राविणी
स श्रीमानुदयश्चकार सुकृती तात्पर्यशुद्धिं सुधः ॥

सद्वाणीभरमन्दराचलचलन्निर्मथ्यमानान्तर-
न्यायाम्भोनिधिपारिजाततिलका वाचस्पतिप्रेयसी ।
प्रीत्याकारि वराङ्गनेव विदुषां सन्तोषवाहिन्यसौ
श्रान्तानामुदयेन तर्कनिकरे तात्पर्यशुद्धिं सताम् ॥

× × ×

न्यायतात्पर्यसंशुद्धिबौद्धसिद्धान्तहारिणा ॥

(fol 103 of the Rotograph in the Mithila Institute)

How Udayana's name was respected highly even in hostile camps would be clear from the following illustration. The great polymath Venkaṭanātha (1268-1369 A. D.) of the Rāmānuja school wrote the *Nyāyapariśuddhi*, the bulk of which is taken up by an elaborate treatment of the Anumāna part (Chowkh. ed., pp 92-359), more specially of the subject of debate Unlike Gangeśa Venkatanātha has dealt with all the different classes of debate (Vāda, Jalpa and Vitaṇḍā) and the intricate divisions of fallacies and quibbles. He has quoted profusely from the works of his predecessors of the Rāmānuja school, who it appears grappled with the problems thoroughly and in a highly developed system of their own. The influence of Gaṅgeśa can nowhere be traced, but Udayana's influence is clearly stamped in their views. The celebrated line of the *Kusumāñjali*, परस्परविरोधे तु न प्रकारान्तरस्थिति [III 8] is accepted as an universal maxim (p 133) Udayana, referred to as Nyāyācārya (p 220), gave the best definition of the term Jāti (तत्र युक्ततमम् p. 221), according to Veṅkatanātha. A former scholar Varadaviṣṇumiśra had dealt with the classes of Jāti just according to Udayana (यथोदयनं p. 235), who was thus formally regarded as the supreme authority on the subject His well-known views on the term Tarka (sharply criticised by Śrīharṣa) are respectfully cited (p 327)

Among the manuscripts upon which the Varanasi edition of the *Kiranāvalī* is based the scribe of one (Ms No. 3 dated 1506 Śaka) eulogises Udayana in the following elegant verse, where he has been likened to an incarnation of Siva, the god of learning

वन्दे शिव शिवमिवोदयन निदान-
मेक गभीरनयतत्त्वविवेकसिन्धो ।
दोषाकरादपि विविच्य कला भजन्त-
मन्त कृताद्यतपद सुमन सहस्रै ॥

Udayana and Gangeśa There is hardly any topic dealt with in the four grand divisions of Gangeśa's work which had not been already argued by Udayana in his main works and specially in the *Kusumāñjali* It is only in the method and mode of expression that Gangeśa excelled over Udayana, whose prominent theistic background had to give place to subtleties of argument in course of time The Iśvaravāda portion of Gangeśa failed completely to oust the *Kusumāñjali*, which held its own through almost a millenium When Vyāsatīrtha the giant scholar of South India of the Mādhva community, grappled with the doctrines of Navyanyāya in the *Tarkatāndava*, he preferred in many places Udayana against Gangeśa (*vide Tarkatāndava*, Madras ed I pp. 148, 286 & 377) In fact his commentator Rāghavendratīrtha distinctly wrote in one place (p 148) that Vyāsatīrtha controverted in the Prāmanyavāda (Utpattiprakarana) the 'older' argument of Udayana because Gangeśa only embellished that argument with subtleties but could not give any new or original one of his own Similarly the Upamāna part of Gangeśa practically became extinct as no scholar of any renown in Mithilā and Bengal (with the single exception of Pragalbha) ever commented on it. In its place the corresponding portion of the *Kusumāñjali* (chap. III) commended itself for studies in the Nyāya seminaries Chinnabhatta

(p. 160) expressly recommended the *Kusumāñjali* on the question of Upamāna as a separate means of valid knowledge.

Vardhmāna in his several commentaries on Udayana has indicated the problems where his father Gaṅgeśa excelled in arguments Here are a few references In the *Kusumāñjali*, Chapter I, there is an elaborate discussion on the much debated term 'Śakti' , here Vardhmāna reproduced three passages of Gaṅgeśa (pp 45, 48 & 51) In the second chapter Vardhamāna elucidated the text of Udayana on the favourite topic of Prāmānya, Śabdanityatā and Jātiśakti with long and illuminating passages of Gaṅgeśa (pp 8 11, 36-37 & 47 49). There are very many passages of Gaṅgeśa cited by Vardhamāna in the *Nibandhprakāsa* Gaṅgeśa therefore cannot be separated from the moorings of Navyanyāya which were first laid down by Udayana in his major works specially the *Nibandha* and *Kusumāñjali* As a matter of fact Gaṅgeśa himself displayed his utmost veneration for Udayana by quoting his words in almost every section of his large work. Among the predeceс sors of Gaṅgeśa by far the largest number of references belongs to Udayana Some of these are pointed out below.

In the very first section (Mangalavāda) of the Pratyakṣa part there is an exact quotation from the *Dravyakiranāvali* of Udayana (B I ed, p 72 *vide Kiranāvalī*, Chowkh ed p 3) In the next section (Prāmanyavāda) a well known Kārikā of the *Kusumāñjali* (IV. 1) on the definition of Pramā is cited (p 366) and it is interesting to note that Udayana is given the flattering epithet Tantrika' here In the same section there is a quotation from the *Bauddhādhikara* (p 424) There are three references to Ācāryāh' towards the end (pp 750 834 & 845). Gaṅgeśa's veneration for Udayana is best displayed in the section on Nirvikalpa (pp 834-38) where after citing and refuting the views of Sivāditya Gaṅgeśa formulated his final views on the topic under discussion on the basis of an exact

quotation from the *Guṇakiraṇāvalī* (Chowkh ed , pp. 201-2), which he fully explained in the manner of a regular commentator.

In the Anumāna part, it is well-known that Udayana's definition of the term Vyāpti and its component Upādhi has been explained by Gangeśa in the Pūrvapaksa section (pp 77-79 vide, *Kusumāñjali* III 2) Udayana's definition of Upādhi is also critically reviewed under Upādhivāda (pp 312-13) For other references to Ācārya in this part *vide* pp 593, 684, 888 (from the *Nibandha*) and 934 Udayana could not be superseded by Gangeśa at all in the Īśvaravāda and Upamāna part In the Śabda part we need only refer to the long and illuminating passage of Udayana with which Gangeśa concludes the section on Vidhivada (pp 284 ff) It need hardly be told that there are many other anonymous passages of Gangeśa which are taken from Udayana. Commentators, specially Sārvabhauma trace the source in many places (*vide* Sārvabhauma's *Anumānamaṇiparīkṣā*, foll. 53b 110b 139a & 161a for the passages referred to *vide* B I ed., pp 166, 380 531 & 599 respectively)

UDAYANA AND ŚRĪHARṢA Owing to decay of Buddhism in India and the consequent degeneration of Buddhist scholarship, specially in the field of Nyāya studies Udayana's powerful onslaught against the Buddhist doctrines produced no effect in the Buddhist camp As far as we are aware no Buddhist scholar attempted to meet the arguments of Udayana whose triumph in the controversy was almost unparalleled It is a significant fact that the Buddhist logicians for almost a millenium quarelled with the orthodox logicians alone and their opposition to the other schools of Indian philosophy is quite negligible In the works of Jñānaśrī and Ratnakīrti, for instance, no Prābhākara and Vedānta author is ever mentioned or refuted. There is much truth in the assertion that in certain fundamental

doctrines the Buddhist and the Vedāntin sail in the same boat Chinnabhaṭṭa explains a passage of the *Tarkabhāṣā* as referring to सौगतब्रह्मवादिनौ (p 250), whose views are summarised in two interesting Kārikās It is nothing surprising, therefore, that within a century after Udayana, a most powerful and scathing criticism of the Nyāya doctrines emerged from the pen of a Vedānta scholar. In the *Khandanakhandakhādya* of Srīharsa the logician's method of fixing and defining the categories with formidable precision was assailed in such a devastating manner that it was hailed throughout India as a novel contribution in the field of dialectics Srīharsa's method of argument earned a special name as 'Khandanayukti' and what is a most wonderful fact the *Khandana*, as Sriharsa's work is commonly called, came to be regarded as one of the classical works of Navynyāya

Srīharsa was a 'Gauda' (i e a native of Bengal) as categorically stated by Vidyapati in the *Purusaparīksā* (under Medhavikatha बभूव गौडविषये श्रीहर्षो ना कविपण्डित) and Vācaspati at the end of the *Khandanoddhāra* The exact relation between Udayana and Srīharsa should be carefully determined, as they are the two towering figures that dominated dialectics in Eastern India for about three centuries before the work of Gangeśa came to the forefront Both the *Khandana* and the *Naisadha* were written at the court of Kanyakubja and it is sometimes argued that Sriharsa also was a native of Kanyakubja We have collected elsewhere (I H Q XXII pp 144 46) quite a volume of evidence both internal and external to prove that Vidyāpati's statement about the provenance of Srīharsa is undoubtedly correct. Use of the word ulūlu' (Naisadha XIV 51) udayabhāskara' (XVIII 103) and the familiar name of a top still current in Bengal 'laladdimba' (XXII 53) mention of peculiar marriage customs prevalent in Bengal, indiscriminate use in alliteration of the three sibilants the two nasals etc. and above all Srīharsa's writing a panegyric of the family of a Gauda king (गौडोर्वीशकुलप्रशस्ति VII. 110) betray unmistakably

his Bengal origin, which is attested by many of his commentators like Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita, Īśānadeva and Nārāyaṇa. Udayana was controverted, therefore, not by a 'Pāscātya' but by a 'Gauḍa' and this is quite in the fitness of things when we recollect that Bengal's rivalry with Mithilā was more pronounced from ancient times than with any other province.

The *Khaṇḍana* criticises Udayana directly and right through, though the name of Udayana is not actually mentioned anywhere in the book. The very first definition of valid knowledge attacked by Śrīharsa is तत्त्वानुभूतिः प्रमा and this again is the very first sentence of Udayana's *Lakṣaṇamala*, as correctly stated by Śaṅkara Miśra (Varanasi ed. of the Śāṅkarī, pp. 143 44). Śrīharsa's wonderful scrutiny of the two-worded phrase is a specimen of his profound scholarship (Chowkh. ed. with Vidyāsāgarī, pp 239-397). The next two definitions—यथार्थानुभवः प्रमा (ib, pp 397-411) and सम्यक्परिच्छेदः प्रमा (pp. 411-27) attacked by Śrīharṣa are exactly taken from Udayana's *Kusumāñjali* (IV. 1 & 5).

A Jaina scholar Abhayatilakopādhyāya, as we have stated before (p. 2, fn), wrote a book of moderate length named *Nyāyālankāra*, consisting of notes on the knotty passages of the five great classics of Nyāya including last of all, Udayana's Pariśudhi[1] According to Ānandapūrna (p, 129) a passage of the Nyāyālankāra is cited and refuted by Śrīharṣa न्यायालङ्कारग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्नेचनीयदूषणं यदभाणि तदनुवदति । At the end of the passage a line of Udayana's *Kusumāñjali* is quoted in support (III. 8 : परस्परविरोधे हि न प्रकारान्तरस्थितिः Śrīharṣa thus not only criticised Udayana alone but many of his followers also and this is very

1. Gunaratna in his Saddarśanasamuccayavṛtti enumerated the works of the Nyāyadarśana (B. I ed., p 94). His description is slightly incorrect, the name Śrīkantha (whose Tippanaka on the पञ्चप्रस्थान has been discovered) should come last of all *after* Abhayatilaka, whose authorship of the Nyāyālankāra is proved by recent discoveries

much in evidence throughout the *Khandana*. Unfortunately the scholiasts do not specify them, except in this single instance

Udayana has been criticised in many other places (*vide* pp. 705, 747, 1327 etc). The most interesting passage is the one, so often reproduced by scholars, where Śrīharsa answers Udayana by hurling the latter's own words in the *Kusumāñjali* (III 7) against him in a slightly changed form —(Khandana, p 693)

तस्मादस्माभिरप्यस्मिन्नर्थे न खलु दुष्पठा ।
त्वद्गाथैवा यथाकारमक्षराणि कियन्त्यपि ॥
व्याघातो यदि शङ्कास्ति न चेच्छङ्का ततस्तराम् ।
व्याघातावधिराशङ्का तर्कं शङ्कावधि कुत ॥

(*Khandana*, *op cit* p 693)

It has been one of the favorite topics of students of logic Gangeśa answered Śrīharsa in the section on Tarka (Anumāna, B I ed p 233) and all scholiasts up to Gadādhara have delightfully dealt with the age-old conflict of Udayana and Śrīharsa

We refer to two other typical passages of the *Khandana* where Udayana is subjected to detailed criticism In the second chapter Udayana's arguments for rejection of erroneous theories (अपसिद्धान्त) are cited from the *Pariśuddhi* (pp 1018-19 Ānantapūrna notes तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धौ . उदयनोक्तं दूषयितुमुपन्यस्यति) Śrīharsa's counter arguments go to the end of the chapter Udayana is referred to here as कश्चित् In the last chapter (pp 1170 76) a long passage is cited from the *Ātmatattvaviveka* (B. I ed pp 1170 1200) and refuted at length All these place Udayana in the position of the greatest opponent whom Śrīharsa wanted to meet by arguments.

Śrīharsa's popularity Śrīharsa s great achievement was naturally hailed by the Vedāntists Vidyāranya triumphantly wrote in the *Pañcadaśī*

निरुक्तावभिमानं ये दधते तार्किकादयः ।
हर्षमिश्रादिभिस्ते तु खण्डनादौ सुशिक्षिताः ॥

Its reception in the land of Udayana is a great revelation Many Navyanyāya scholars of Mithilā (and Bengal) came to scoff at it but remained to pray. Divākaropādhyāya, Vardhamāna, Śaṅkara Miśra and even so late an author as Gokulanātha had written commentaries on it So did Pragalbha, Padmanābha Miśra and Raghunātha (Vidyālaṅkāra) of Bengal. Vardhamāna attempted a refutation of it also, but it is completely lost. Vācaspati II and Śankara, it is true, wrote powerful refutations. They were followed by two late scholars, Mādhava Miśra of Mithilā and Viśvanātha Pañchānana of Bengal But on the whole the refutation of Śrīharṣa's arguments at the hands of the Nyāya scholars of Mithilā and Bengal is somewhat half-hearted and considerably out-weighed by their agreeable studies of those arguments.

This raises the problem of Vedāntic influence upon Udayana and other advocates of the uncompromising dualism of the Nyāya It is now well known that Udayana at the end of the *Ātmatattvaviveka* attempted a remarkable and powerful synthesis of all the orthodox systems of philosophy and, though orthodox Nyāya scholars emphasise upon the exact gradation of the systems as envisaged by Udayana the crowning glory remaining with the Nyāya, Udayana's predilection towards the Vedānta cannot be brushed aside lightly. Phrases like सा चावस्था न हेया मोक्षनगरगोपुरायमाणत्वात् from the pen of Udayana speak out his real mind Maheśa Thakkura, one of the later glories of Mithilā, similarly expressed his veneration for the Vedāntic principles. The Navyanyāya, as a matter of fact, concerned itself more and more, as time went on, with the method of grappling with problems, not so much with the matter and Śrīharṣa's method of vanquishing opponents consequently appealed to its votaries. An agreeable approach to the opponent's views is in

evidence even in the times of Vācaspati, when the conflict with the Buddhist scholars was at its height His application of the epithet Tāyin' of undoubted Buddhist origin to Aksapāda in the second prayer verse of the *Tātparyatīkā* is quite revealing

Date of Śriharsa is intimately related to that of Udayana and we shall discuss the problem at this place with up to-date materials Śriharsa's date can be fixed within narrow limits from the following evidence Towards the end of the *Khandana* (p 1327) he respectfully mentions the name of the (Kasmirian) rhetorician Mahimabhaṭṭa in the following verse

दोष व्यक्तिविवेकेऽमु कविलोकविलोचने ।
काव्यमीमांसिपु प्राप्तमहिमा महिमाऽऽदृत ॥

Mahimabhatta who came after Abhinavagupta (1015 A D.) and before Mammata (c 1100 A D) must have been living about 1050 A D and was probably a native of Kāsmīra The earliest date that can therefore be assigned to Śrīharsa is 1075 A D This dismisses any attempt (cf IA 1913 p 83) to place Sriharsa earlier On the other hand the earliest author who quoted from Srīharsa's *Naisadhacarita* is Mahendra Sūri a disciple of the famous Jaina polymath Hemacandra (1088-1172 A D) In his commentary on the *Anekarthasangraha* of Hemacandra he quoted many passages of the *Naisadha* as illustrations, e g under II 18 (p 8 of extracts from the com mentary in Zachariae's edn 1893) II 56 (p 13) II 274 (p 43) II 299 (p 47) II 303 (*ibid*) II 527 (p 77) IV 155 (p 173) and IV 339 (p 184) This commentary which was published in the name of the author s teacher Hemacandra was written soon after' the latter's death (*ibid* Preface p XIII) Sriharsa, as a native of Bengal and a protege of the king of *Kanyakubja* could not be supposed to have commanded the respects of foremost scholars of Western India unless he was at least an exact contemporary of Mahendra s guru Hemacandra or slightly senior to him None of the authorities cited by Mahendra as far as can be ascertained belong to the latter

half of the 12th century A. D. Śrīharṣa must, therefore, have written his works in the second quarter (1225-50 A. D.) of the century during the reign of Govindacandra of Kannauj (1104-54 A. D.), whose patronage of the poet is definitely stated by a commentator named Gadādhara[1]. Śrīharsa, probably, started his literary career with small tracts like *Amarakhandanam* (Madras Ms. No. R 1595) and *Dvirupakosa* (*ibid.* R 1607) with a view to enrich his vocabulary. Ksīrasvāmin, in his commentary on the *Amarkosa*[2], quotes a line from Śrīharsa *sanghāta-mrtyur-marako manirmāri ca devatā* (II. 6 58). This is evidently from the *Dvirūpakosa* or a similar work of the poet Ksīrasvāmin was quoted by Vardhamāna in the *Ganaratnama-hodadhi* (Eggeling's edn , pp 306 and 430), which was composed in 1140 A. D These early tracts of Śrīharsa will have, therefore, to be assigned to the first decade of the century in the very beginning of reign of Govindacandra. It is possible that the poet in his very old age enjoyed the patronage of Vijayacandra (1169 A D) and Jayacandra, the son and grandson of Govindacandra But the statement of Rājaśekhara Sūri that the poet wrote in the reign of the latter prince need not be taken as literally true Rājaśekhara could not correctly record the name and relation of Jayacandra in the *Prabandha-kosa.* Besides the *Naisadha* and the *Khandana,* Srīharsa is known to have written many more works, mentioned by himself at the end of the several cantos of his poem. One of them is the *Sthairyavicāra* mentioned at the end of Canto IV of the *Naiṣadha* It appears that the editor of a Vedānta work *Brah-mavidyabharanam* (published at Kumbakonam) had access to copies of this long lost work, from which he cited in the short introduction the following important (introductory) verse

1 S R Bhandarkara Rep of a Second Tour in search of Sans Mss , 1907, pp 43 & 87 88 इति ह श्रूयते वाराणस्यां गोविन्दचन्द्रो नाम राजा बभूव तस्य सभाया बहव पण्डिता बभूवु तेषु च सर्वेषु श्रीहर्ष पर्यन्मण्डन य कृतवान् खण्डनम् । ..

2 Oka's ed , p 101 , Trivandrum ed , Part II, p 316

श्रीहर्षकृतौ स्थैर्यविचारप्रकरणे,

> तन्त्रैर्दुर्यन्त्रमन्त्रैरपि बुधजनतागाधबोधापमृत्योः
> कृत्योद्यत्क्रूरधारापरपतरमतेर्गुप्तनाम्न शरारोः ।
> चेष्टाभिष्टम्भकाना प्रतिविबुधसभोत्सातजैत्रध्वजाना-
> माजानज्ञानभाजा विभवमभिदधे चिद्विलासाख्यभूम्नाम् ॥

Śrīharsa herein glorifies the powers of one Cidvilāsa, who frustrated the black acts of a Tantrika named Gupta Cidvilāsa was by tradition the pontiff of the Kāmakoṭi shrine of Kāñcī and his encounter with, and the subsequent conversion at his hands of the great Khandanakāra is recorded in a work named पुण्यश्लोकमञ्जरी also cited in the same introduction (cf. खण्डखण्ड-मखण्ड खण्डनकृदाद्यौद्दण्ड्यमुद्दण्डवाग्) The traditional date of Cidvilāsa, according to the records of the shrine, is 4268 4301 of the Kali era (1167 1200 A D), which is about half a century too late for Sriharsa. Srīharsa also wrote a work named *Śivaśaktisiddhi* (see canto XVIII) This book also was accessible to the above editor, who quoted the following stanza from it –

तेनैवान्यत्रापि,

> क्षोणीस्त्रीमणिरत्नकाञ्चिविकचत्काञ्चीपदोद्यद्रस-
> श्रीकामासनपासवासितमहासत्त्वोऽप्यसत्त्वच्यव ।
> प्रस्फूर्ज्जच्चिद्विलासवदुमासोमार्धचूडालयो-
> रैक्योक्ताविह भारतीं मदयता श्रीचिद्विलासो मम ॥

Here again Cidvilāsa of the Kāmakoti shrine of Kāñcī is referred to in glowing terms and invoked for inspiration in the book which had for its subject the identity of Siva and Sakti The editor identifies this Cidvilāsa with Advaitānanda, the author of the *Brahmavidyabharanam* But the identity seems to be quite unwarranted Whether this Cidvilāsa is to be identified with Sriharsa's Guravah' cited by him in *Khandana* (Chowkh ed , p 1316) cannot be determined at the present state of our knowledge

Among the three royal panegyrics written by Śrīharṣa, all of them unfortunately remaining undiscovered, the *Vijayapraśasti* (mentioned at the end of canto v) was upon Vijayacandra, the son of his patron Govindacandra of Kanauj. We quote in support the gloss of one of the oldest commentators on the *Naisadha* named Śrīvatseśvara from a very old palmleaf copy (stopping at Canto XI) preserved in the V R. Museum, Rajshahi (Ms. No 809) —

विजयचन्द्रस्य या प्रशस्ति कविना कृता, तत्र राज्ञो जीवितत्वाद्वा गौरवाद्वा श्रीशब्द. प्रयुज्यते ।

According to another commentator Gopīnātha the *Vijayapraśasti* was a panegyric of the Gauda king Vijayasena (L 1639 विजयसेननाम्नो गौडेश्वरस्य) But this seems hardly possible as Śrīharṣa wrote a separate *Gaudorviśakulapraśasti* (Canto VII), which was more likely in praise of the Sena kings Śrīharṣa's connection with the court of Vijayasena however, may be taken as a fact. His connection with another royal court is proved by another panegyric the *Chindapraśasti* (Canto XVII). But the *Arnavavarnana* (Canto IX) was not a royal panegyric ('praśasti'), as is sometimes interpreted by scholars , it must have been a small lyric poem describing the ocean (cf Śrīvatsa's note संदृब्धं सन्दर्भीकृत ग्रन्थितमिति यावत् अर्णवस्य वर्णनं येन)

Now we are confronted with the question—what length of time intervened between Udayana and Śrīharsa As early as 1884 A. D. M. M. Vindhyeśvarīprasāda discovered a definite answer to the question, which seems to have escaped the notice of scholars On the strength of a *Naisadhatīkā* by one Bhagīratha he stated that Śrīharsa's father Śrīhīra had academic contest with Udayana In other words Udayana was older than Śrīharṣa by only one generation (*vide* Introd to *Vaiśesikadarśana*, Śrāvana 1941 V. S , p. 26) Unfortunately the actual words of the commentator were not quoted. The commentary named *Gūdhārthadīpikā* is by far the most extensive ever

written on the *Naiṣadha*; a fragment of it dated 1629 Saka (probably revised by the commentator himself) is now preserved in the Sarasvatī-Bhavana (*vide* Introd. to the *Tārkikarakṣā*, pp. 30-31). The colophon proves that Bhagīratha wrote it at the court of Rājā Jñānachandra of Kūrmāchala, (1698-1708 A.D.) under whom and under whose son Jagaccandra (1708-20 A. D.) he wrote several other works. At the end of Canto I of this '*Bhāgīrathī*' commentary there is a rushing flow of most fanciful etymologies of the names of Śrīharṣa and his parents (fol. 83). One such etymology of the name Srīhīra, who was the father of Śrīharṣa, runs :—यद्वा हि निश्चयेन ईर्त्ते उदयनाचार्यात्स्वयं कंपते हीरः। सुप्सुपेति समासः। श्रिया युक्तो हीरः श्रीहीरः। शाकपार्थिवादिः। ईर् गतौ कम्पने। Another etymology, equally fanciful, of the name Śrīharṣa runs : यद्वा हृष्यते स्निह्यति पित्रोराज्ञया उदयनाचार्यस्य पराभवकरणे प्रीतिमान् भवति हर्षः। हृष् स्नेहने। पचाद्यच्।...Bhagīratha incidentally records here two bits of an important tradition that Udayana defeated Śrīhīra in the debate and Śrīharṣa avenged the defeat at the request of his parents. Bhagīratha is a very recent author; he evidently derived his information from some of the many earlier commentaries consulted by him.

One of the earliest and most learned scholiasts of the *Naiṣadha* was Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita, whose commentary was composed in 1353 V. S. (i. e. 1296-97 A. D.). At the very commencement Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita categorically stated that Udayana in a conquering campaign challenged Śrīharṣa's father in a debate and defeated him and Śrīharṣa, as a faithful son, avenged the defeat by meeting Udayana's arguments in the Khaṇḍana. The exact words of Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita are :—

प्रथमं तावत् कविर्विजिगीषुकथायां स्वपितुः परिभावकम् उदयनम् अत्यमर्षणतया कटाक्षयन् तद्ग्रन्थग्रन्थीन् उ(द्)ग्रन्थयितुं खण्डनं प्रारिप्सु...मानसम् एकतानताम् आनिनाय ॥

(Des. Cat. of Mss, B. O. R. I., Poona, Vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 481) It should be carefully noticed that both Cāṇḍū Paṇ-

ḍita and Bhagīratha (who might have based his etymological speculation on the words of the former) mention the fact of Udayana's personal conflict with Śrīharṣa's father directly without the least suspicion about its veracity. But unlike Bhagīratha Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita is more definite about the manner of Śrīharṣa's revenge, which took the form of a literary retort instead of a personal contest. It is interesting to note farther that, *according to Cāṇḍū Paṇḍita, Śrīharṣa's greatest ambition in* life was to write this great Refutation and he acquired all his talents (through devotions of the mystic Cintāmaṇi-mantra) with that end in view. It is substantially proved in our opinion by the fact that in his 'very angry' mood Śrīharṣa nowhere refers to Udayana by name in the *Khaṇḍana.*

Śrīharṣa's conflict with Udayana was a common tradition current in the Indian seminaries. The editor of the *Khaṇḍana* with *Śāṅkarī* has recorded a tradition that Śrīharṣa debated directly with Udayana, who lived to answer Śrīharṣa's arguments in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* " (Introd., pp. 6-7). These floating traditions have little historical value, but the definite incident of Śrīharṣa's father Śrīhīra's defeat at the hands of Udayana recorded in a commentary of the *Naiṣadha* within a century and a half from Śrīharṣa and exactly corroborated in later commentaries forms the kernel of truth behind them all. It is possible to fix roughly the time of this historic debate between Udayana and Śrīhīra. It could never have taken place before 1050 A.D. and probably took place in the decade 1075-85 A.D., when Śrīharṣa was a mere boy.

DATE OF UDAYANA: Under the above computation *Udayana's date of birth would fall about 1025 A.D.* and his period of activity would cover the last half of the century (1050-1100 A.D.). This is confirmed by a large volume of evidence which is summarised below.

(1) Udayana's feeling of great diffidence expressed at the commencement of the *Pariśuddhi,* which was one of

his last works, proves that he was removed by some length of time from Vācaspati, who, as we have shown before, had been quoted and sometimes criticised by Udayana's teacher Śrīvatsa. This feeling of great and almost aweful reverence for Vācaspati persists throughout the *Pariśuddhi* and we quote below two magnificent verses from the unpublished portion of the book. At the end of the Pramāṇa section Udayana writes : (fol. 71b of the Rotograph preserved in the Inititute)

स्वच्छाः स्वभावशुचयोऽतिशयेन गुर्व्यो दुर्बन्धदुर्धरदुराग्रहदुःसभाव्याः ।
टीकागिरो विपदपारदविप्रुषो वा येषां वशे ननु वशे जगदेव तेषाम् ॥

At the end of I. ii we find (fol. 103b) :—

अनभ्यासज्ञेयात् श्रुतिविवरगर्भेषु लघुतः
सुखग्राह्यान्मन्दैः सु सुमसुकुमारात् प्रथमतः ।
मन श्रीमद्वाचस्पतिवचनविन्यासविसरात्
त्रसत्यद्याप्येतन्मुहुरिव मुहुर्निर्वृतमपि ॥

(The reading in the Tanjore copy is somewhat corrupt : Cat., p. 4482.)

It may be surmised, therefore, that Udayana was about three generations later than Vācaspati, whose date has been fixed by us as the latter half of the 10th century A.D. At the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to refer the date 898 of Vācaspati's *Nyāyasūcnibandha* to the Vikrama era and that Śaka date (corresponding to 976-77 A.D.) falls about a century before the flourishing period of Udayana under the above scheme.

(2) Udayana's date is most intimately related to that of Jñānaśrī, who was directly controverted by him in his very first work, *Ātmatattvaviveka*. And the date of Jñānaśrī is fixed beyond any dispute in the Tibetan works. He was an exact contemporary of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, surnamed Atiśa. The latter's life, based on contemporary sources, was dis-

covered by S. C. Das in Tibet; it was 'printed' 'in Tibet in the year called *dog* about the year 1250 A.D.' (Journ. Buddhist Text Society, I. i., 1893, p. 7 fn.). According to the Southern System of Bṛhaspati Cycle introduced in Tibet about the year 1026 A.D. the year Sādhāraṇa (No. 44) is named Iron-*dog* in Tibetan (S. C. Das: Tibetan Grammar, 1915, App. V, pp. 9-10) and it fell exactly in the year 1250 A. D. Atīśa (who was born not in 980 A. D. but in 982-3 A. D.) left for Tibetan at the age of 59 in March 1041 A. D. (I H. Q., VI, p. 159). Just three years before (i. e in 1038 A. D.) the king of Tibet sent Nag-tsho (Vinayadhara) to Magadha for bringing Atīśa; the elaborate account of his mission, which has been published, bears on the face of it a stamp of veracity so rare in ordinary works of the type. The Tibetan learnt on arrival that among the eminent Pandits under Atīśa one of the foremost was Ratnakīrti. In a grand assembly at Vikramaśīlā occurring soon after the Tibetan saw among others two teachers of Atīśa viz. Vidyākokila and Naropānta (l. c. p. 18). Atīśa consulted oracles in various places and at Vajrāsana and acted according to the instructions of 'Ācārya Jñānaśrī' (p 20). Sometime after (i. e. in 1039 A. D.) Naropānta came on his last visit to Vikramaśīlā; "he leaned on the right arm of Atīśa while Jñānaśrīmitra helped him with his left arm". (p. 21) Naropānta died soon after in the South. This definitely proves that Atīśa and Jñānaśrī were the two towering figures of Vikramaśīlā at that time, though both of them were younger in age to Naropānta. Jñānaśrī was then evidently retired, succeeded by his distinguished pupil Ratnakīrti. Like Atīśa he was presumably living still in 1050 A. D. and, as we have stated before, Udayana probably wrote the *Ātmatattvaviveka* about this time (say within 1050-60 A. D.) when Jñānaśrī was still alive.[1]

1. The date of Atīśa's starting for Tibet, which exactly coincided with the king Nayapāla's accession to the throne, is generally taken as 1038 A. D, that is three years earlier than the date we have given (Vidyābhusana, *l. c.*, p. 520) This date has been practically accepted in the

(3) Udayana on the one hand was one full generation (i. e. about 40 years) later than Jñānaśrī and on the other senior to Śrīharṣa by the same period of time and both these pieces of evidence happilly combine to settle his date within the last three quarters of the 11th century (1025-1100) A. D. as we have stated above

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Hist. of Bengal (Vol I, p 177—where Nayapāla's reign starts from 1038 A D) Before Atiśa started for Tibet there was a fight between Nayapāla and Karna ('king of the Western countries'), this could not have taken place in 1038 A D when Karna was not yet on the throne The confusion is due to the fact that the Bṛhaspati cycle is current in two different systems—the Prabhavādi (called the Southern system) and the Vijayādi (called the Northern system) The former and not the latter was introduced in Tibet (S C Das Tibetan Grammar, p xv & Bk I, p 48) and the year Vikrama, when Atiśa left for Tibet according to the Tibetan accounts, fell in 1038 A D according to the latter system, while it fell in 1040-41 A. D under the former system, which is still current in Tibet A similar confusion arose in computing the birth-date of Atiśa, which was in the Tibetan year *Tsu rta* (Water-horse) corresponding to the Chitrabhānu of the Brhaspati cycle, under the Southern system that year fell in 982-83 A D. and not in 980 A. D "Jñanaśrī Mitra of Gauda" was a gatekeeper at Vikramaśila under Canaka (Vidyabhusana, p 520) but the Tibetan historians Tāranātha and Sumpo mention five mythical Pāla kings (including Canaka) between Mahipala and Nayapāla. Unlike them the biographer of Atiśa correctly stated that Atiśa became High priest under Mahipāla (p. 11), the patron evidently of Jñanaśrī also.

CHAPTER II

PRE-GANGEŚA WRITERS

Śrīvallabhācārya is the author of the *Nyāyalīlāvatī*, one of the few original classics of the Navyanyāya, which has been happily published with three commentaries (Chowkh. ed , 1934, pp. 864) At the very outset we should mention that the name of the author was Śrīvallabha and not Vallabha. Vādīndra calls him by that name (*Rasasāra*, p 92), while in the *Citsukhīṭīkā* he is invariably cited under the name of Śrīvallabha (Bombay ed., 1915 pp 196 198, 230, 298-99 &c, more than a dozen times) and not even once as Vallabha. Rājaśekhara in his commentary on the *Kandalī* confused the name (Peterson's *Report*, 1887, p. 273 चतुर्थी तु लीलावतीति ख्याता श्रीवत्साचार्यो वचनम्) and mistook the book as a commentary on the *Bhāṣya*, but he knew that the name of the author began with a 'Śrī'. Gunaratna (1409 A.D.) also followed Rājśekhara, but he described the book correctly (*l c* p 282 लीलावतीतर्के श्रीवत्साचार्यैः) The *Līlāvatī*, as the book is commonly known, covers the same grounds as the *Praśastapādabhāsya*, which be it known, was invariably called at the end of the six chapters of the book by the commentator Śrīdhara by the correct and significant name Padārthapraveśa' (*Kandalī*, pp. 94, 289, 311, 321, 324 & 330) In other words the elaboration of the six categories of the Vaiśesika system which became the prime function of the Vaiśesika scholars ever since Praśastapāda to the detriment of the original Kanādasūtras, formed the main thesis of Śrīvallabha, the first chapter of his book named (*Padārtha-*) *Vibhāgaparicceheda* forming its great bulk (up to p. 731 of the Chowkh. ed). Śrīvallabha, however, displaved his originality by adding three small chapters at the end respectively elaborating Differance of properties (Vaidharmya), Community' of properties (Sādharmya) and Operation (Prakriyā). The whole book is

divided besides into 75 separate sections falling under the four chapters. Some of these sections including the whole chapter on Operation mark a departure from the doctrines of the original Sūtrakāra and a distinct tendency towards fusion with the Nyāya. As a matter of fact, in the second introductory verse Śrīvallabha, with an excellent pun, describes Lady Līlāvatī (the actual name of his own wife according to Vardhamāna and other scholiasts) as a skilful mistress in the premises of the Science of Reasoning (सान्वीक्षानयवेश्मकर्मकुशला श्रीन्यायलीलावती) This proves that according to Śrīvallabha the Vaiśesika system as well as the Nyāya system both come under the term 'Ānvīkṣikī'. There have been borrowings from each other. For instance, Abhāva (negation) has been accepted as a separate category into the Vaiśeṣika from the Nyāya, just as the mental organ is introduced into the latter from the former. This, says Śrīvallabha (pp. 35-6, read with Vardhamāna), does not conflict with the individuality of the two systems. The section on Abhāva (pp. 544-79) is immediately followed in the *Līlāvatī* by the section on Apavarga (Emancipation, pp. 580-98), both coming under the category of Guṇa.

The *Līlāvatī* was by far the best Vaiśeṣika treatise in the medieval period, and the most intricate one It outshone the more or less elementary treatises of Sarvadeva (whose *Pramāṇa-mañjarī*, though popular, is only a booklet of 16 pages), Vādīvāgīśvara (author of the *Mānamanohara*, not yet published) and Śivāditya Miśra Like the works of Udayana on the one hand and that of Gaṅgeśa on the other the intricacy of the *Līlāvatī* attracted the best intellects of Mithilā even before the times of Gaṅgeśa and it enjoyed the privilege of being the only post-Udayana work before Gaṅgeśa to rank among the immortal classics of Neo-Logic.

The authorities cited in it are listed below alphabetically:
Indra, a pre-Pāṇinian grammarian (p 625)

Udayana in *Tātparyaśuddhi* (p 445) the passage cited is interesting, it accords Udayana's fling at the scholars of Bengal for their incorrect pronunciation of the three sibilants still persisting in Bengal (शुक्लादिन्यावृत्तिनिबन्धनस्तु नीलादिन्यवहार शपयोरिव सव्यवहारो *गौडानाम्*"'इत्यादि तात्पर्यशुद्धावुदयन ।

Kiranāvalikāra (pp 399-400, 533 34 & 823). In the first two cases Udayana is criticised and rather violently (प्रलपितमेतद्विचारासहत्वात्) in the second place, where Udayana's novel arguments against the admissibility of Upamāna as a means of valid knowledge are cited at length

Carakācārya (p 816)

Ṭīkā (i e *Kiranavali*, pp 38 & 39) The term is invariably applied to the *Tātparyaṭīka* of Vācaspati, but Śrīvallabha as a protagonist of the Vaiśesika in a manner paid his respects to Udayana by using the term for the *Kiranavali* instead

Tutātita (i e. Kumārila) mentioned along with Kīrti, the Buddhist authority (p 480)

Tattvakaumudī of Vācaspati (p. 533) cited with approval on the refutation of Upamāna.

Bhāsarvajña (p. 405) the passage is cited as very important यत्तु *भासर्वज्ञीय* मतं पूर्वोत्पन्नत्व परत्वं पश्चादुत्पन्नत्वमपरत्वमिति तत् कणभक्ष-पक्षाक्षमामात्रविजृम्भितम् । पूर्वपश्चाद्भावस्य परत्वापरत्वातिरिक्तस्य निर्वक्तुमशक्यत्वात् ।

Bhūsana (i e *Nyāyabhūsana* of Bhāsarvajña, pp 283, 357, 452, & 856) All the passages are important and should be carefully discussed We need only refer to one line of Śrīvallabha, which has been noticed by many scholars. तदियमनाम्नातता *भासर्वज्ञस्य* यदियम*ाचाय*मप्यवमन्यते । तथा च तदनुयायिनस्तात्पर्याचार्यस्य सिंहनाद —सर्विदेव भगवतीत्यादि (p 358). Padmanābha in his *Anunaya* commentary (Adyar Ms , p 143 of a transcript with the present writer) explains आचार्यं द्वित्वस्वीकर्तारं कणादम् । तदनुयायिनः

कणादमताभिज्ञस्य । We should better take Praśastapāda as the Ācārya in this passage.[1] It should be stated that Padmanābha here mistook Bhāsarvajña and Bhūṣaṇa as different persons. The passage clearly indicates that according to Śrīvallabha Vācaspati (*Tātparyaṭīkā*, p. 277) came after Bhāsarvajña.

Paramakośakāra (p. 675 . अलसो निःप्रयत्नो निरुत्साह इति परमकोषकारवचनात् ।)

Mahāvrata (p. 647), an ancient Ācārya.

Vyomācārya (p. 834 . *vide Vyomavatī*, p. 450).

It should, moreover, be noticed that Śrīvallabha never refers to Udayana by the honorific title Ācārya almost universally attributed to him. To him Vācaspati was the 'Ācārya' (p. 533), the Tātparyācārya (p. 358) and the 'Paramanyāyācārya' (p. 762)

Like Udayana Śrīvallabha was a powerful writer. His intricate argumentative style is interspersed with elegant passages here and there. We may refer to the splendid passages on pp. 140, 144 and 648 as instances

Śrīvallabha undoubtedly belonged to Mithilā In the first place from the earliest times it was commented upon by Maithila scholars of the front rank like Prabhākara, Vardhamāna and Vateśvara and when Vardhamāna categorically states that in the first prayer verse and the second introductory verse the author had respectively referred through *double entendre* to his father Purusottama and his beloved wife Līlāvatī, there is not the remotest chance that the pedigree of a 'foreign' author could come within his knowledge so directly. Only a Maithila scholar's family details could be recorded by Vardhamāna in that manner. In the second place, Śrīvallabha incidentally refers to a reigning monarch in the following elegant passage –

1 For another suggestion vide Tātparyācārya—JAS, Vol XVII, No 3 p 243

'यदि च गगनमात्मा वान्यधर्मेणान्यमवच्छिन्द्यात् काश्मीरवर्तिना कुङ्कुमरागेण कार्णाटचक्रवर्ति(ललना-)करकमलवच्छिन्द्यात्। (p. 290; repeated by Vardhamāna in his commentary on the passage p 291) The passage is cited in the *Nyāyamuktāvalī*, a commentary on Udayana's *Lakṣaṇāvalī* by Śesa Śārangadhara (Varanasi ed, p 41), who made it more elegant by adding the word ललना. It is also reproduced in the *Citsukhī* (p 322) and in the *Upaskāra* of Śaṅkara Miśra (under II ii 10) in a modified form. It was evidently inspired by a passage of the *Kiranāvalī* in the same section of Kāla (Varanasi ed, p. 116 अन्यथा वाराणसास्थितेन नीलेन पाटलिपुत्रस्थितस्य स्फटिकमणेरुपरञ्जनप्रसङ्गात्। cf *Upaskāra* on II. ii. 6). Cinnabhatta localised it by mentioning Vijayanagarī and Virūpākṣa instead (p. 228) We need hardly state here *that Mithilā was under the rule of a 'Kārnāta' dynasty for two* centuries and a half (from about 1100 to 1350 A D.), which was the most glorious period in the cultural and social history of Mithilā. The most illustrious among the kings of the dynasty was its founder Nānyadeva (1094 1147 A. D.) If the *Bhū parikramana* (fol 18b) and the *Purusaparīksā* of Vidyāpati are to be believed this monarch 'of the Kārṇāta family' (कार्णाट-कुलसंभव) was living still in the reign of Jayacandra of Kanauj (*vide* युद्धवीरकथा). There is hardly any doubt that Śrīvallabha was referring to this monarch of Mithilā in the above passage It should be carefuly noticed that the reference is to a 'Kārṇāta' family and not to a 'Karnāta' country.

In the following interesting example of intuition' (आर्षज्ञान) Śrīvallabha refers again to a local monarch, who was not, how ever, a 'Cakravartin' (overlord) but only a 'Nrpati' —(p 629) यथा वा स्वेच्छास्मृतपदार्थसार्थे भवति—*शालिगाहनो* नृपतिरिदानीं शृङ्गारसरसीतीरे देव्या लीलावत्या सह ललितमधुरं सङ्गीतकमनुष्ठनीति ज्ञानम्। न चैष विपर्ययः संवादात्। [वर्द्धमानप्रकारा-आर्षज्ञानोदाहरणान्तरमाह, यथावेति] That this is a reference to a living monarch is proved by the author's assertion that the incident known through intuition tallied with facts. Śaṅkara Miśra explains that it is an example of know-

ledge at a distance in position, not in time. (*ib*, p. 629 देशविप्रकर्षेण उदाहरति).

Srīvallabha frequently mentions Vārānasī (pp. 140, 399-400) with which he was apparently quite familiar In the first mention (p. 140) he seems to have recorded his personal experience that a pupil's brain improves sweetly from sips of Gangā water at Vārānasī after tasting myrobalan He must then have studied at Vārānasī and from early times Maithila students had kept up communication with that great centre of Indian culture and religion

Date of Śrīvallabha As we have stated above Śrīvallabha has not given the well known epithet 'Ācarya' to Udayana, from whom he was not much removed in time On pp. 37 40 he has cited the views of a scholar, partly of the same school, with whom however, he disagrees, who quoted the *Tīkā* (i e. the *Kiranāvalī* *vide* Guna part, p. 184 , *Rasasāra*, p 22 and *Gunaprakāśa* p 48) in his support We should, therefore, place him about two generations after Udayana in the second quarter of the 12th century A. D late in the reign of Nanyadeva. His definition of Vyāpti, as is well known, is cited and refuted by Gangeśa in the section on Pūrvapaksa (B I ed , p. 83 and *Līlāvatī*, pp 496) But he was not cited anywhere by Śrīharsa, who was his exact contemporary On the other hand, a pre Gangeśa scholar of Mithilā named Prabhākaropādhyāya commented on his work perhaps for the first time Many authors of the 13th century A D. like Vādīndra and Citsukha, not belonging to Mithilā, have quoted him respectfully by name It is impossible, therefore, to place him after 1175 A. D It should be mentioned here that Pratyagrūpa, commentator of Citsukha in one place (*Citsukhī*, Nirn ed., p. 326) refers to the *Līlāvatī* as a 'recent' book Pratyagrūpa's date is about 1350 A D.

From the following quotation which we traced in Vardhamāna's *Anvīksānayatattvabodha* it is gathered that

besides the *Līlāvatī* Śrīvallabha wrote a commentary on the 5th chapter of the Nyāyasūtra, the most intricate part of the system. Many other scholars including Udayana tackled the chapter separately.

अत्र श्रीवल्लभः—एवं विशेषविवक्षायां विपर्ययकारणाद्विपर्ययापादनं जात्यन्तरं स्यात्। सन्ति च सादृश्यज्ञानारोप्यस्मरणविशेषादर्शनानि। तस्मात्संशयपदमसत्यचेदनोपलक्षणम्। तेन निर्णयकारणोपक्षेपे मिथ्याज्ञानकारणेन प्रत्यवस्थानमप्रमितसमः॥ (under V. 1 14) Vardhamāna has referred to this view of Śrīvallabha also in the *Pariśiṣṭaprakāśa* (p. 38) under the caption केचिदाहुः. Moreover, it is likely that Śrīvallabha wrote a separate tract named *Īśvarasiddhi* cited by himself (p. 406 यथा चैतत्तथास्माभिरपि *ईश्वरसिद्धावुक्तम्*, for, the reference does not seem to be to the small section on Īśvara in the *Līlāvatī* (pp. 239-62), where the relevant topic is not traceable.

ŚIVĀDITYA MIŚRA The name of this great author of various works on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika now lives through his elementary treatise *Saptapadārthī*, which has long been published with various commentaries. Though all his polemical works have perished, his prayer at the end of the *Saptapadārthī* has been luckily fulfilled

सप्तद्वीपा धरा यावद् यावत् सप्त धराधराः।
तावत् सप्तपदार्थीयमस्तु वस्तुप्रकाशिनी॥

Gaṅgeśa, who very rarely names his predecessors, made an exception in the case of Śivāditya, who is cited by name in the section on Nirvikalpa (Pratakṣa part, B. I. ed., p 830): the following verse in the passage has been wrongly printed as prose :

व्यावर्त्तनीयमधितिष्ठति यद्धि साक्षा-
देतद्विशेषणमतो विपरीतमन्यत्।

दण्डी पुमानिति विशेषणमत्र दण्डः
पुंसो न जातिरनुदण्डमसौ च तस्य ॥
इति (*ib.*, p. 829)

It may be taken as a typical illustration of the style and consummate scholarship of Śivāditya exhibited in his lost works which seem to have been both in prose and verse. In the present case Śivāditya was cited by Gangeśa only to be refuted Gangeśa's own views on the intricate point, the definition and function of Viśeṣana and Upalakṣaṇa, were based on a passage of Udayana (from the *Kiranāvalī*, pp 201-2) respectfully quoted and explained by him (pp 834 5)

Among the lost works of Śivāditya the *Lakṣanamālā*, based on Mahāvidyā syllogism (*vide Citsukhitikā*, pp. 180-81), was probably his masterpiece. We have stated before that the recently published work of that name, wrongly ascribed to him is really a long lost work of Udayana Not one single sentence of Śivāditya, cited by different authorities can be traced in it. Śivāditya's array of intricate definitions, which earned for him the epithet of a 'follower of the new crooked path' was assailed by Vādīndra (*Mahāvidyāvidambana*, pp 74, 79, 109 & 117) and more frequently by Citsukha (*vide Citsukhitīkā* pp 180, 183, 192-3, 195, 200, 237, 295 6, 309, 323 & 327 8) in the second chapter of the *Tattva-pradīpikā* Among these dozen quotations one (p 237) is particularly important Citsukha refers to it as a 'crooked course' of the 'modern', which is really an elaboration of Udayana's words and anonymously quoted by Gangeśa in the very beginning of the Upādhivāda. It should be noticed that this very passage of Śivāditya is ascribed by Ānandapūrna to Nārāyana Sarvajña (q. v.). None of these definitions are traceable in the *Saptapadārthi*

A very small tract of Śivāditya named *Hetukhandana* has been discovered (Introd to *Mahāvidyāvidambana*, p XIX),

In it there are references to two lost works of Śivāditya, '*Upādhivārtika*' and '*Arthāpattivārtika*' and to an unknown author of a certain '*Mayanandanī*' (fol. 8). Probably Śivāditya had written a comprehensive work with the appelative 'Vārtika', the above-mentioned works forming two of its parts Besides the long quotation by Gaṅgeśa (*Pratyakṣa*, pp. 829-30), many other passages of Śivāditya, all of them intricate and learned, are found in various works. We quote some of them below. Vardhamāna in his *Tattvabodha* under V 1. 37 writes — शिवादित्यमिश्रास्तु प्रयत्नकार्यत्वानेकत्वादिनानेन दृष्टान्तानेकत्वमुक्तम्। तथा च साध्यत्वेनैव हेतुना दृष्टान्त[न्त]रेणानिष्टापादनं कार्यसमः ..... इत्याहुः। (fol. 62b) this seems to imply that like Udayana and many other scholars, Śivāditya had written a separate commentary on the fifth chapter of Gautama. Jānakīnātha in his *Nyāya-siddhāntamañjarī* refers to an advanced view of Śivāditya thus (Chowkh ed. with Yādava's commentary, p. 9) —*शिवादित्य-मिश्रास्तु* करणाद्याकारानुगतमते करणत्वादिकमखण्डोपाधिरूपसामान्यमङ्गीचक्रुः। Jānakīnātha has quoted this same view of Śivāditya at the end of the *Ānavīkṣikītattvavivaraṇa* (fol. 166b). This classification of Upādhi into two classes, Sakhaṇḍa and Akhaṇḍa, already referred to by Gaṅgeśa (*Pratyaksa*, p 842), has been variously ascribed to different scholars. Among Nyāya scholars Śivāditya seems to be the earliest. In the *Saptapadārthi* he devides Sāmānya (Universals) into two classes Jāti and Upādhi perhaps for the first time.

Among other original views of Śivāditya we should mention his definition of Darkness (*Saptapadārthī*, p 84 आरोपित-नीलरूपोऽभावोऽन्धकारः) which is an adaptation of the famous views of the *Kandalī*. Like Bhāsarvajña he accepts अनध्यवसित as a separate class of Hetvābhāsa, which according to him is six-fold Against all Vaiśeṣika views he enumerates an eleventh 'quarter' (Dik) named 'Raudrī'. He enumerates a third variety of Sāmānya 'Parāpara'. His predilection for the *Kandalī*

is again manifested in his admitting 'Citrarasa' (p. 26). Balabhadra, the commentator, remarks चिन्त्यमेतत् (p. 149).

Śivāditya's date can be easily fixed as the middle of the 12th century A. D. As he was controverted by the eminent scholar of South India, Vādīndra, who flourished in the reign of the famous Yādava king Singhana (1210 47 A. D.) he cannot be brought down further than 1175 A D He certainly came after Udayana and was one of the bright stars in the galaxy of great scholars who flourished about 1150 A D—Śrīvallabha, Śrīharsa, Vādivāgīśvara and others.

KEŚAVA MIŚRA author of the *Tarkabhāsā*, an elementary treatise of Nyāya Vaiśesika doctrines, which is more or less popular throughout India It is divided into two broad divisions—Pramāna and Prameya. It is not certain if he belonged to Mithilā As a matter of fact among its numerous commentators (in Dr. Bhandarkar's ed, pp xix xx the list contains 28 names), there is only one Gopīnātha who belonged to Mithilā but his commentary circulated not in Mithilā at all but in South India In the most flourishing period of advanced studies on Navyanyāya in Mithilā and Bengal the smaller and elementary works never attracted scholars and they became extinct or what is more surprising some of them created excellent fields elsewhere There is a notable instance in the *Nyāyasiddhantamañjari* of Jānakīnātha which was composed at Navadvīpa and completely forgotten there though it was studied at Varānasi and elsewhere for a long time We believe the *Tarkabhāsā* similarly was driven out of Mithilā and became popular in Varānasī from where it circulated in other parts of India.

Our reasons for regarding Keśava as a Maithila are the following (1) The title Miśra is found in the colophon of the *Tarkabhāsā* in all manuscripts and that, *prima facie* points to Mithilā as the author's birth place (2) Keśava was well-read in the works of Udayana. At the beginning of his work he

started with Udayana's definition of Pramā (यथार्थानुभव प्रमा taken from the *Kusumāñjali* IV 1) and towards the end cited his definition of the fallacy 'Asiddhi' (also taken exactly from the *Kusumāñjali* III, p 39) mentioning his name. Moreover, in the latter case Keśava attempts to meet in his own way the objection that Udayana's definition is open to the charge of overlapping. Keśava's predilection for Udayana might be taken as a good pointer to his place of origin. (3) According to Peterson (Cat. of Ulwar Mss, 1892, p 28) the splendid Mss Library of the Maharaja of Alwar preseves a copy (Ms No. 653) of a commentary on the *Tarkabhāsā* by Vardhamana named *Tarkaprakāśa* and a sub-commentary on the same by Rucidatta We failed to get any further information on these two unique manuscripts If they have been correctly described by Peterson it would be a convincing proof that Keśava belonged to Mithilā For, a superior Maithila scholar of the position of Vardhamāna could not be supposed to have wielded his masterly pen upon an elementary work of foreign' origin

Date of Keśava Miśra We are of opinion that Keśava belonged to the middle of the 12th century A D. His direct mention of Udayana and the marked predilection for his views point to the same conclusion. *He must have preceded Gangeśa* by a length of time For, Cinnabhatta (late in the 14th century A. D.) commented on it at Vijayanagarī the great cultural centre of South India where Keśava's work must have circulated long ago Cinnabhatta it should be noted himself belonged to a very distinguished family and was quite unaware of Gangeśa Vardhamāna again regarded the *Līlāvatī* and the *Khandana*, both written in the middle of the 12th century A D., as the latest classics for him to adorn with masterly commentaries As Keśava also seems to have attracted his pen, he cannot be later in date Keśava is unaware of the great Khandanakāra, who was probably his contemporary His early date is corroborated by the fact that his work bristles with a large

number of various readings. According to Cinnabhaṭṭa, (p. 137) and following him Viśvakarmā (p. 42), Keśava has controverted the views of the Kandalīkāra (*vide Kandalī*, p. 206) in his treatment of Anumāna. He has similarly rejected the *Kandalī's* views on the nature of gold (which in Nyāya falls under the substance 'light') preferring Udayana's opinion on the point (*vide* Cinnabhaṭṭa, p. 214). Keśava, therefore, belongs to an early period, when Udayana's controversy with Śrīdhara was still a current topic.

Dr. Bhandarkar (in his Introd., p. xxiii) suspected that Keśava Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Tarkadīpikā* upon the *Tarkabhāṣā* 'may be the same' as Keśava Miśra. Keśava Bhaṭṭa, however, of the Laugākṣi family was a much later scholar of Vārāṇasī. He commented also on Udayana's *Lakṣaṇavalī* (transcript at Mithilā Institute from Baroda) and on the *Saptapadārthī-padārthacandrikā* (Tanjore Cat., pp. 4458-59). This latter Ṭippaṇī was composed in 1521 Śaka (1599 A. D. : इन्दुनेत्रशरभूमिते शके corresponding correctly to the year Vikārin, according to the Southern system of the Bṛhaspati cycle).

Mahāmahopādhyāya Candra : One of the authors who is referred to anonymously by Gaṅgeśa. In the *Śabdamaṇi-parīkṣā* (of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma) of which a unique manuscript is now preserved in the Sarasvatī-Bhavaṇa, Vārāṇasī, (foll. 23-143 dated 1503 Saka, the copy belonged to the famous M. M. Vidyānivāsa) we discovered the following passage : (fol. 118) अयं च सिद्धान्तविरोधः प्रभाकरं प्रति, न तु मिश्रं तेनाधानामेवात्र देवतात्वास्वीकारात् । तन्मतं तु वक्ष्यमाण-चन्द्र-राद्धान्तदूषणेनैव दूषितमित्युपेक्षितम् । (compare Rucidatta's *Śabdamaṇiprakāśa*, the *Pandit*, VIII, p. 132). There is another quotation from Candra in the same work (fol. 70a) : अतएव व्यक्तौ सदपि शक्तिज्ञानं न कारणं जातिविषयत्वेन शक्तिज्ञानादेव व्यक्तिधीसंभवात्तयोरेकधीवेद्यत्वनियमादिति चन्द्रेणापास्तम् । Caṇḍeśvara (in *Kṛtyaratnākara*, p. 82) calls him a गुरुमताचार्य. Two works of this scholar have been

discovered, which at one time exercised a great influence among dialecticians of Eastern India. One of it, the *Amṛtabindu* exists in a very incorrect copy in the Asiatic Society (foll. 49), the colophon running : इति श्रीमहामहोपाध्याय-श्रीचन्द्रकृतौ अमृतबिन्दुर्नाम प्रकरणं समाप्तम् । It deals with 'Vidhi' and 'Apūrva' exclussively and proves its affiliation by quoting only from the *Nibandhana* (fol. 36b & 48a-b), *Vivaraṇa* (23a, 36b & 48b, both of Prabhākara himself), *Prakaraṇapañjikā* (of Śālikanātha, 34a) and Mahāvrata (45a). This book also has been cited in Sārvabhauma's *Śabdamaṇiparīkṣā* (under Apūrvavāda, fol. 28b : अतएव स्वर्गकामबोद्धृकं यागविषयकं कार्यमिति प्रथमतोऽन्वयानुभवे अन्वयप्रयोजकबोद्धृत्वोपस्थितावनन्तरं यागविषयकं स्वर्गकामिकार्यमित्यमृतबिन्दु-दर्शितः पन्था निरस्तः । Both Candra and his work, the *Amṛtabindu* were cited also in the *Śabdālokoddyota* of (Sārvabhauma's son), Vāhinīpati Bhaṭṭācārya (fol. 23a-b of Ms. of the Bhau Daji collection at Poona).

Another work of Candra named *Nayaratnākara* exists in the Darbara Library at Nepal (H. P. Śāstrī : *Nepal Cat.*, 1905, p. 113). At the end of this book Candra mentioned that he belonged to the 'Pośāḷī' family :—

असौ चन्द्रः श्रीमानकृत नयरत्नाकरमिमं
निबन्धं *पोशाली*-कुलकमलकेदारमिहिरः ।

There is no family in Mithilā, as far as we have learnt, which has Pośālī as its Mūlagrāma, though he has been claimed for Mithilā by M. M. Dr. Umesha Mishra (Jha Commemoration Vol., p. 243). Pośālī happens to be a well-known Śrotriya family of Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. It still survives in Bengal by the name 'Puśilāla' belonging to the Kāśyapa gotra. In earlier genealogical works the name is mentioned regularly as 'Poṣali' or 'Poṣalī' (*vide* the texts cited by us in *I. H. Q.*, III, p. 139). It was situated somewhere in Rāḍha or West Bengal. In this book Candra refers to the *Vivaraṇa*, the *Viveka*, the *Pañcikā* (of Śālikanātha) and Śrīkara (Jha Comm. Vol., p. 245).

Candra held independent views about the categories, which according to him were eleven in number. Śankara Miśra in the *Vādivinoda* (p. 53) and Padmanābha in his *Setuṭikā* (p 105) describe him as 'Prābhākaraikadeśin' for that reason According to Candra 'Ownership' (स्वत्व) is the eighth category His views on the point are given and refuted by Vācaspati Miśra II in the *Tattvāloka* under II. i 33 (fol 108b इत्यगत्याष्टम पदार्थं स्वत्वमिति चन्द्र') and anonymously by Vardhamāna in the *Līlāvatīprakāśa* (pp 82-83). He was undoubtedly one of the Prābhākara scholars, whose works Gangeśa specially studied under professors as stated by him at the commencement of his book (गुरुभिर्ज्ञात्वा गुरुणा मतम्) For, the *Amṛtabindu* exibits to a large extent the Navyanyāya style of almost interminable streams of arguments and counter-arguments so prominent in Gangeśa. Candra was one of the original sources of Gangeśa in the Vidhivāda and Apūrvavāda portions of the Śabdakhanda and as such we cannot but refer to him here though we hold that he was a Bengali by origin

According to M. M. Dr. Mishra Candra's date is 'before 1100 A D' (Jha Comm Vol , p 246). This is no longer tenable The *Viveka* mentioned by Candra in the *Nayaratnākara* is the *Nayaviveka* of Bhavanātha, who cites Śrikara by name (p. 271) Bhavanatha was most probably a rival and contemporary of Bhavadeva, as indicated by Nāndilla Gopa in the commentary of the *Prabodhacandrodaya* (II. 3). Bhavadeva's period of activity has been fixed by us within 1060-1110 A.D. (*I. H Q*, XXII, pp. 133-35). Candra cannot, therefore, be placed before the 12th century A. D. and as he is cited by Murāri he cannot be later either.

DIVĀKAROPĀDHYĀYĀ a supreme authority in the Nyāya-Vaiśesika literature of Mithilā, better known as the Uddyotakāra Divākara's name is familiar among scholars from a rare quotation found in Jagadiśa's *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* (Varanasi

-ed., p. 171 in the section on Kāraka : *दिवाकरस्तु संस्कारावच्छिन्नमेव* ज्ञानं जानात्यर्थ इत्युक्तस्थले मुख्यमेव कर्मत्वं घटादेरित्याह, तन्मन्दं......). Jagadīśa, a comparatively late author, borrowed this from the *Ānvīkṣikītattvavivaraṇa*, a separate commentary on *Nyāyasūtra* (Chap. V only) by Jānakīnātha, father of Jagadīśa's teacher Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma (Sarasvatī-Bhavana Ms. of Rāmabhadra's *Nyāyarahasya*, fol. 156a). From Pragalbha's *Maṇṭikā* we first came to know that Divākara preceded Gaṅgeśa. In the *Īśvaravāda*, commenting on the passage अथारणिमण्यभाववति...इति चेत्—न (B. I. ed., p. 131), Pragalbha explains *दिवाकरमतमाशङ्कते*—अथेति (*Anumāna-Pragalbhī*, S. B Ms. fol. 190a and Bombay R. A. S. copy fol. 160a). There is a passage in the *Dravya-prakāśa* of Vardhamāna where two former explanations of a statement of Udayana are cited (*Kiraṇāvalī*, Varanasi ed., p. 50 fn. : the reading in the B. I ed., pp. 217-18 is corrupt :— अवयवानवस्थेति । यद्यपि अनवस्थामात्रं बीजाङ्कुरसाधारण्येन न दूषणं तथापि सर्वकार्यद्रव्यनाशात् प्रलयानन्तरं सृष्टिरिति व्यवस्थाविरह एवानवस्थेत्येके । द्व्यणुकावयवस्यानेकद्रव्यारब्धत्वे महत्त्वं स्यादित्यर्थ इत्यन्ये ॥ Pragalbha gives here a very informative note in the *Dravya-Pragalbhī* (Navadvīpa Ms. fol 113a) : इत्येके=*प्रभाकराः* । इत्यन्ये=*दिवाकरोपाध्यायाः*. Divākara, therefore, commented on the *Kiraṇāvalī* before Vardhamāna as did another rival scholar of Mithilā named Prabhākara. In the Dravya section Pragalbha has adorned his sub-commentary with very frequent quotations from Divākara ; we counted as many as 50 (from fol. 30 to 140), which is by far the largest number from a single author. Pragalbha evidently regarded him as a very great authority upon Udayana. Phrases like तच्चिन्त्यं दिवाकरविरोधात् (fol. 83a), इति दिवाकरस्वरसः (51b), तथैव दिवाकरः (79a, 109b, 121b & 130a) display his regard for him. Some of these passages of Divākara also prove that Vardhamāna is indebted to a large extent to Divākara for the formidable precision of his style in defining various terms. Medieval scholarship for a long time consisted in bringing out the full significance of every part of these definitions. The definition of

Dravyatva in *Dravyaprakāśa* (B. I. ed., p. 164) was formulated by Vardhamāna after rejecting that of Divākara (p. 163) For, Pragalbha here again gives us the information (fol 86b : दिवाकरमतं दूषयति—न चेति)

Another well-informed scholar of Bengal Puṇḍarīkākṣa Vidyāsāgara refers to Divākara in the following revealing passage of the *Kātantrapradīpa* in the section on Kāraka (printed in Gurunātha's ed. of the *Kalāpa*, p. 715) —

यद्यपि *खण्डनटीकाया* दिवाकरादिभिः संस्कारावच्छिन्ना बुद्धिर्ज्ञानात्यादेरर्थं इत्युक्तं संस्कारफलावच्छिन्नस्य धात्वर्थत्वादिति इति *न्यायनिबन्धोद्द्योतेऽपि* दृश्यते—

Here two works of Divākara have been mentioned by name, *Khaṇḍanaṭīkā* and *Nibandhoddyota* The *Uddyota* has been mentioned by Vācaspati II in the *Tattāloka* (fol. 53a) under I. 1. 10. The illuminating passage is cited below यद्यपि प्रकरण-पर्यालोचनया क्षेत्रज्ञानामेव प्रमेयत्वं तन्मिथ्याज्ञानस्यैव संसारबीजत्वात् अन्ततः तत्तत्त्वज्ञानस्यैव मोक्षहेतुत्वात्। तथा च द्वे ब्रह्मणी वेदितव्ये इत्यादिश्रुतेर्मोक्षधीगोचरत्वात् भगवतोऽपि धीविषयत्वमवगम्यते *भास्करादिस्वरसाच्च*। न च भगवदप्रमेयत्वपर-प्रमेयप्रकाशविरोधः तस्य नव्यमतपरत्वात्। *अतएवैतदुद्द्योततृतीयप्रकाशा*वेवमेवेति। Śaṅkara Miśra also mentioned the *Uddyota* as one of the three illuminating commentaries on the *Nibandha*. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma in *Anumānamaṇiparīkṣā* (S. B. Ms. fol. 6a) cited a doctrine of the *Pramāṇoddyota.*

Fortunately a fragment of the book is preserved in the Asiatic Society (No 4770 of the Govt collection), though its great importance was missed by H. P Sastri and other scholars. This unique copy written in the Maithila script is dated 164 L S, but the copy in palm leaves is very much injured, several leaves are missing and several torn. It begins —

॥ ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै ॥

आत्मदेहेन्द्रियार्थज्ञामनसा यः परीक्षक.।

वं तृतीयमिवाध्यायमनुध्यायामि शाङ्करम्॥

फलभागितयोद्देश्यमादौ परीक्षणीयमपरात्मानं नमस्यति—विद्येति । तस्मै अपरब्रह्मणे कस्मैचित्सर्वप्रमेयमुख्याय दुर्विज्ञेयाय च नम । यत उदेति उदय प्रयोजनयोग तेन मोक्षलक्षणफलभागी भवतीत्यर्थ । अविद्या आत्मभ्रान्ति सैव रजनी तत्क्षये सति, कस्मात्तत्क्षय ? अत आह—विद्या आत्मतत्त्वसाक्षात्कार सैव पूर्वा सन्ध्या तदुदयोद्रेकात् । अथवा विद्या आत्मनि श्रवणमननध्यानरूपा प्रतिपत्तयस्ता एव तिस्र सन्ध्या उदयस्तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारस्तदुद्रेकात् । अतएव विश्वतस्त्विपि विश्वस्मिन् त्विद् प्रकाशो यस्य सर्वज्ञाय योगजधर्मादयादित्यर्थ । व्याख्यानान्तराणि *द्रव्यकिरणावलीविलासे* कृतान्यस्माभि । The last folio (which is fortunately preserved with the page mark lost the previous folio not however the immediately preceding one being marked 56) is wholly reproduced, containing an extremely valuable colophon though torn at a vital place . क इति निरोधायेति प्रकृतिपुरुषभेदनिरोधायेत्यर्थ । यथा सास्यपक्ष उत्थापितस्तत्र दूषणमाह—ससारदशायामिति शेष सुगमम् ॥

मिथिलेश्वरेण श्रीभाजिशान्तिकरण विहित पदे य ।

तत्सूनुनाखिलतमासि नुदन्निबन्धोद्द्योत स्फुट रचित एष *दिवाकरेण* ॥

दिवाकरा तोऽय समुद्यत ।

विद्वज्जनमन पद्ममुल्लासयतु सर्वदा ॥

इति महोपाध्यायश्रीदिवाकरकृतो न्यायतृतीयाध्यायनिबन्धोद्द्योत समाप्त ॥ देवराज्ये देउलाश्रीमत्कटके पीतूपाटकस उपाध्यायश्रीगिरीश्वरैर्लिखितमिदम् । ल स १६४ ज्यैष्ठवदि ११ ॥ Divakara's father served a certain king of Mithila in an important priestly function and the transcript (dated somewhere between 1272 and 1283 A D) was made when a certain king was reigning in Mithila As if by a conspiracy the two royal names have been torn off !

In the above extract the name of Divākara s commentary on the *Kiranāvali* has been preserved viz. V I I Ā S A Mallinātha in his commentary on the *Tārkikaraksā* once (p 129) referred to Divākara as the Vilāsakāra and cited his definition of Moksa (तथा चैकात्मनिष्ठनिखिलदुःखध्वससाकल्य मोक्ष मुमुक्षूणा च प्रत्येकमेकत्वान्नाव्याप्तिश्चेति *विलासकारो*क्तलक्षणमुक्तमित्यनुसन्धेयम्) Pragalbha also referred to him once as the Vilasakāra (*Dravya Pragalbhi*, fol 73a).

The *Vilāsa* is cited twice in Paksadhara's *Dravyaviveka* (fol 90a & 96a). In the above fragment of the *Uddyota* Divākara frequently cited from previous commentaries without of course naming them and in most places refuted their arguments e.g. यत्तु केचित् (fol 21a) अत्र केचित् (23b), ib (32a), कश्चित्तु (33b), इति केचित्। अन्ये तु (55b) and एके तु (62a) All these prove that a long line of scholiasts upon Udayana's *Nibandha* existed before the times of Divākara The following passages are extracted from the fragment as somewhat interesting

अत्र राजसूत्रकमेण (?) प्रकरणार्थश्चतुर्द्वैतमेव प्रतीयते चतुरद्वैतन्तु सिद्धान्तो व्याख्यात (fol. 16a)

कश्चित्तु हरीतक्यन्यत्वेन हेतुर्विशेषणीय इत्याह—तन्न, कषायस्य खदिरादेरपि जलमाधुर्यव्यञ्जकत्वात्। (33b)

पक्षधर्मतादिज्ञान ह्यनुमितिजनक न तु तर्क । (41a)

Buddhist doctrines are refuted in this chapter and in that connection Divākara records the important fact that he commented also on Udayana's *Bauddhādhikāra* अधिक त्वालोकनाम्नि बौद्धाधिकारविवरणेऽस्माभि. प्रपचितम्। (51b) It is interesting to note that this long lost commentary of Divākara bore the name the *Āloka* the title of the famous commentary of Jayadeva (Paksadhara) on the *Tattvacintamani*.

Divākara also commented on Udayana's *Kusumāñjali* and the name of this commentary was PARIMALA. It was mentioned by Śankara Miśra in the following line मकरन्दे प्रकाशे या व्याख्या परिमलेऽथवा This portion of Śankara's commentary has been mysteriously tagged on to the beginning of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma's *Kusumāñjalikārikāvyākhyā*, we have discussed the point under Tvantopādhyāya below Śankara evidently mentioned the three names of previous commentaries in the ascending order of chronology, proving that Divākara preceded both Vardhamāna and the Makarandakāra (i e. Tvantopādhyāya). This *Parimala* of Divākara has been approvingly

cıted once by Sārvabhauma ın hıs extensıve commentary on a sıngle phrase of Gangesa (तद्बोधादनुमित्युत्पत्तेः Vyāptıvada Pūrvapaksa p 87) thus —युक्तश्चैव परिमललतित पन्था, सामानाधिकरण्यमात्रविषयकतया ज्ञानस्य हेतुत्वे लाघवात् । (*Anumanamanıparıksa* fol 26a). The *Parımala* has also been cıted by Rucıdatta five tımes ın the *Makaranda* upon Vardhamana s *Kusumāñjalıprakāśa* (*vıde* Chowkh ed Stavaka I pp 22 23 III p 21 IV p 1 and V p 10) The *Parımala* ıs not a sub commentary on Vardhamāna's Prakāsa as ıs sometımes wrongly taken A fragment of ıt was dıscovered long ago ın a Jaına Bhandara, quıte beyond the reach of scholars (*Descrıptıve Catalogue of Manuscrıpts ın the Jaın Bhandars at Pattan* Vol I, Introd p 44) Dıvakara became famous by hıs great commentarıes on all the major works of Udayana though there ıs no evıdence avaılable yet that he had commented on the *Parıśısta* also We shall refer to an ınterestıng doctrıne whıch seems to have been first promulgated by Dıvakara The prepositıons (Upasargas) accordıng to a vıew ascrıbed commonly to the Kandalıkāra, (compare प्रकर्षवाचिना प्रशब्देन *Kandalı* p 2) dırectly denote meanıngs by the prımary functıon of words ın other words they are वाचक Udayana denıes them any such functıon they only can elucıdate meanıngs whıch prımarıly belong to the verbs to whıch they are attached That ıs to say they are only द्योतक Dıvākara adopted a mıddle course—they are द्योतक ın cases where the prımary meanıngs of verbs are contradıcted by the preposıtıons ın the rest they are वाचक Thıs vıew has been cıted and rejected by Gangesa (*Śabda* part Upasargavāda p 856) That the vıew was advocated by Dıvākara ıs stated by Pundarıkaksa Vıdyasagara ın the *Kātantrapradīpa* thus —तस्मात्

धात्वर्थस्य विरुद्धार्थे प्रादिभ्यो यत्र लभ्यते ।
तत्रामी द्योतका ज्ञेया बुधैरन्यत्र वाचका ॥

इति सङ्क्षेप *दिवाकरादेरपि* मतमेतत् (Gurunātha s ed of *Katantra*, p 651)

Divākara's date can now be definitely fixed within 1200-50 A D He cannot be placed before 1200 A D as he had commented, perhaps for the first time, on the *Khandana* and referred to more than one previous commentaries on Udayana. On the other hand the date of the transcript of his Udyota (falling within 1272-83 A. D.) marks the lower limit of his date. The transcript might have been made within his very life-time

PRABHĀKAROPĀDHYĀYA One of the greatest pre Gangeśa scholars of the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika, whose name had been lost for a long time. He was not a Mimāmsaka and it goes without saying that he is not identical with Prabhakara Miśra the founder of a Mimāmsā school who preceded him by at least 500 years. He probably wrote commentaries on all the four major works of Udayana In the *Dravya-Pragalbhī* (an unique manuscript preserved in the Public Library at Navadvipa dated 386 L. S , examined by us thoroughly 15 years ago) the following references to Prabhākara were traced तथा प्रमाणप्रभाकर इत्याह (fol 83a). This proves that Prabhākara wrote a commentary on Udayana's *Pariśuddhi*. तथा प्रभाकरै इन्द्रियलक्षणे दर्शनात् (fol. 98b this is also from the *Nibandhaṭikā*). The next passage is cited in full (fol. 116b *vide Kiranāvali*, B I ed, p 221) अतएव त्रसरेणौ परमाणुत्वमेव स्वीक्रियते न महत्वम् । यत्तु वर्द्धमानेनोक्त तदभ्युपगमवादेनेति ध्येयम् । न च सुधापानरचितम् । न च इद तौतातिताना—तस्य परमाणुत्वे न तत्समवेत इति साध्यव्यापकत्वादिति *प्रभाकर दिवाकराभ्या* स्वहस्तितत्वादिति ॥ In this illuminating passage Pragalbha refers to three distinguished scholiasts on the *Kiranāvali* which include Prabhākara In प्रभाकरोपाध्याया आहु (fol 133a *vide* B I. ed, p 261), the full name with the title Upādhyāya attached should be noted. भानुपाणामिति (B. I. ed, p 268)—पन्नगाना पवनपानप्रवृत्तिरेवासिद्धिरिति प्रभाकर (fol. 132b) प्रभाकर-दिवाकरौ (136b)

In the *Upamānasaṁgraha* of Pragalbha (A S Ms. No. 1752 dated 1643 V S) it is clearly stated that Gaṅgeśa quoted Prabhākara's definition (fol. 4a प्रभाकरोपाध्यायकृतलक्षणमाह-

असाधारणेति *vide Upamānakhanda*, B I ed, p 18) It is probable that Gaṅgeśa here quoted from Prabhākara's commentary on the *Kusumāñjali*. There is another quotation from Prabhākara in the same part of Gangeśa's work (p 90 प्रभाकरस्तूत्थापयति —अत्रेति fol. 16a)

It is now possible to state that a famous passage of Gangeśa in the *Vyāptivāda* which has now developed into a separate section called अतएव चतुष्टयम्, is a quotation from this Prabhākara. For, what Mathurānatha (following Jayadeva's note प्रभाकरा अपि वदन्ति) vaguely explained as प्रभाकरसमति (p. 165) is really a quotation from Prabhākaropādhyāya as Pragalbha definitely stated (fol 19a of Ms No. 298 of the Sarasvatī-Bhavana अत्रैव प्रभाकरोपाध्यायमतमुपष्टम्भकमाहातएवेति) The mention of the title Upādhyāya conclusively proves that a particular scholar is meant here belonging evidently to the same school of neo logic and not certainly a follower of the Prabhākara school of Mīmāmsā. Here also the passage is probably taken from Prabhākara's commentary on the *Kusumāñjali*

This Prabhākara also commented on the *Līlāvatī* of Śrīvallabha. Bhagīratha in his sub-commentary on Vardhamāna's *Līlāvatīprakāśa* pointed out two cases where Vardhamāna cited from Prabhākaropādhyāya (Chowkh ed., pp 142 and 355 प्रभाकरोपाध्यायमतमाह-) But in Paksadhara's *Līlāvatīviveka* there are eleven such references (Colebrooke's copy now in London I O foll. 2a 5a, 15a, 18a, 39b, 49b 58a, 61a, 78a and 93b). Some of these references are important. The following passages cited by Vardhamāna in his *Līlāvatīprakāśa* are, according to Paksadhara, from Prabhākaropādhyāya —

(1) p 16 अन्ये=प्रभाकरोपाध्याया (fol 5a)
(2) p. 280 अत्र.. संप्रदायविद । प्रभाकरोपाध्यायमत आह-अत्रेति (61a).
(3) p 283 पूर्व. इत्यन्ये । प्रभाकरोपाध्यायमतमाह-पूर्वमिति । (ib.)
(4) p 499 तर्हीति । अनौपाधिक सबन्धो व्याप्तिरिति मतवादी यथास्माक-

सुपाध्युद्भावनापत्तिर्दोपस्तथा तवापि कृत्स्नसाध्यसबन्धाभावोद्भावनापत्तिरिति तुल्यमित्युपाध्याययोजनाया सम्प्रदाययोजनाया च दोपमाशकते—तर्हीति । (99b). It should be notıced that ın the second passage Vardhamāna styles Prabhākara as Sampradāyavıt' and ın the last case Paksadhara refers to hım sımply as Upādhyāya The Name of Prabhākara s commentary was Prakāśa' as ındıcated by Paksadhara ın one place (fol 58a अत्राकाशपरिमाण दृष्टान्त अन्यतरघटितश्च हेतु प्रभाकरै प्रकाशे स्फुट । *vıde Lılavatī* p 264) In another passage (39b) Prabhakara ıs stated to have accepted Kandalıkara's vıew about the exıstence of Chıtrarasa' (*vıde Kandalı* p 30 last lıne) We need hardly state that Prabhākara regarded as an authorıty by Vardhamāna was a Maıthıla and flourıshed about a century after Srıvallabha ın the mıddle of the 13th century A D

TABANI MISRA One of the greatest pre Gangeśa authorıtıes of Mıthıla The name of hıs treatıse ıs *Ratnakosa,* whıch has been respectfully cıted by Manıkantha and Gengeśa A famous tract of Harırāma Tarkavagīsa of Navadvıpa (professor of Gadādhara goes by the name of *Ratnakosavıcāra* and ıts copıes are avaılable ın almost every manuscrıpt lıbrary ın Indıa It begıns —परोक्षज्ञान निश्चयात्मकमेवेति सिद्धान्त रत्नकोपकारस्तु सत्प्रतिपक्षस्थलनदशाया सशयात्मकानुमितिं स्वीकरोति । (from an old copy ın our possessıon) The whole passage has been cıted and refuted by Gangeśa (*Anumana* pp 885 88) as well as by Manıkantha (p 178) Descrıbıng a copy of Harırāma (or Gadadhara) elaboratıng thıs remarkable thesıs of the *Ratnakosa* Hall wrote ın 1859 (*Index* p 81) that ıts 'author has not been ascertaıned Unfortunately he added the followıng note later on (p 202) 'I know of another work called *Ratnakosa* a collectıon of aphorısms of defınıtıon by one Pṛthvīdhara Ācārya' Thıs has mısled scholars for the best part of a century to belıeve that Pṛthvīdhara was the author of the *Ratnakoṣa* cıted by Gangeśa An unıtellıgıble aphorısm of Pṛthvīdhara's *Ratnakoṣa* has been cıted by Hall (चतुर्विध सांख्य

तत्त्वप्रमाणप्रकारसर्वात्मा *Sāṅkhyasāra*, Preface p 6, fn.). As numerous passages of the *Ratnakoṣa* cited by Gaṅgeśa are now available, it is beyond doubt that this latter work was a discursive treatise and did not consist of aphorisms at all. Rucidatta distinctly states in the following passage that the name of its author was Taraṇi Miśra —तथा च रत्नकोषे तरणिमिश्रैरुक्तम् एवमभावत्वध्वंसत्वादिकं बोध्यम् (*Anumānaprakāśa*, Īśvaravāda, printed in the appendix to Chowkh. ed. of Gādādharī, p 2015 two A. S. Mss fol 121b & 288a) While explaining the passage of the *Ratnakoṣa* cited in the *Nyāyaratna* of Maṇikaṇṭha (p 178) Vācaspati Miśra II notes तरणिमिश्रमतमाह (fol. 37b). It should, therefore, be taken as finally settled that the name of the long-lost *Ratnakoṣa*'s author was Taraṇi Miśra.

There are six important passages of *Ratnakoṣa* cited by Vardhamāna in the *Pariśiṣṭaprakāśa* (pp. 91, 105, 109, 110, 115 & 125). All of them belong to the section on Nigrahasthāna Except in the last case Vardhamāna cited the passages with approval. There are four important passages of the *Ratnakoṣa* cited in the printed portion of the *Nyayanibandhaprakāśa* of Vardhamāna. In the first passage (p. 163 तत्तदन्ते ' अखण्डोपाधी'''इति रत्नकोषकृतः, compare also *Līlāvatīprakāśa* p. 626) the peculiar view ascribed to the *Ratnakoṣa* and refuted by Vardhamāna is already cited under the heading अत्र केचिदाहुः by Gaṅgeśa himself (*Pratyakṣa* part, p 842) and also refuted by the latter. The second passage is much more important elucidating the basic doctrine underlying the first passage. It runs .—रत्नकोषकृतस्तु द्विविधं हि सामान्यं जातिरुपाधिश्च, समवेता जातिः असमवेतं चोपाधिसामान्यम्। अतएव भट्टपादैः जातेरन्यदेव अवत्वादिसामान्यं वनादिसामान्यवदभ्युपेतम्। यदाहुः—

यौगिकानां यथा जातेरन्यत्सामान्यमिष्यते।
तथा समूहसामान्यं जातं जातिविलक्षणम्॥
(तन्त्रवार्तिके १।३।२)

इति तथा च करणत्वमप्युपाधिसामान्यमित्याहुः। तन्न "(pp. 194-5). It

appears, however, that this Bhātta view was already accepted by Sivāditya Miśra (q v) and though Vardhamāna has not accepted it in the present passage he is distinctly cited by Pragalbha as advocating the selfsame view (*Anumāna-Pragalbhi* fol. 182a) —न चापसिद्धान्त' जातिभिन्नस्याखण्डरूपसामान्यस्योपाधे' वर्द्धमानचरणैस्त्रिसूत्रीतत्त्वबोधेऽभिहितत्वात् । The next passage (p 341) cites a denition of the term Vāda from the *Ratnakosa* तस्माल्लाभपूजाख्यातीरनुद्दिश्य प्रवर्तितत्व वादलक्षणमिति रत्नकोषकार । तन्न । The last passage (p 468) is also a remarkable one, Vardhmāna refers to it at the end of a quotation from his father Gangeśa and rejects it thus —एतेन संयोगो विशेषणता च द्वयी प्रत्यासत्तिर्न च समवायादिचतुष्टयमिति रत्नकोषकृन्मतमयुक्तम् । Gangeśa cited this anonymously (*Pratyaksa* part p. 653 under Samavāya) Gangeśa's indebtness to the *Ratnakosa* is clearly stated by Vācaspati Miśra II the refutation (ib. p 846) of Gangeśa according to him follows the view point of the *Ratnakosa* रत्नकोषदिशा दूषयति—तन्नेति (*Pratyaksamaniprakāśa*, fol 59a)

Vardhamāna has also referred to the *Ratnakosa* in the *Līlavatīprakaśa*. The passage on the section on Fallacy is reproduced below as a typical instance of the intricate style of the author.

अर्थान्तरोपनायकस्मृत्यादिसहकारिता सामान्यत एव प्रत्यभिज्ञादौ क्लृप्ता, तदिह सद्व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मताकलिङ्गपरामर्शस्यासदर्थकाञ्चनमयत्वादिस्मृतिसहकारिवशाद् यत्राभासधीकारणत्व तत्राभास पृथक्। मैवम्। (Chowk ed, pp. 608-9. Bhāgīratha notes, रत्नकोशकृन्मतमाशङ्कते)

There are three passages in the *Tattvāloka* of Vācaspati Miśra II referring to Tarani Miśra Under I. ii 7 we find लक्षणं तु तुल्यबलबोधितसाध्यविपर्ययत्वमिति *तरणिमिश्रा* । तन्न ...। There is an illuminating passage under II. i. 38, which is also cited below fully as a typical instance of the style and scholarship of the great author

तरणिमिश्रास्तु प्रत्यक्षमेव काले मानम्, इदानीं घट इत्यादिप्रत्यक्षस्य सर्वजनसिद्धत्वात् । न चेदानीमिति बुद्धिः कालोपाधिविषया न तु कालविषयेति वाच्यम् । कालोपाधिर्हि परिस्पन्दनादिर्न च तदधिकरणको घटादिः । नन्वेवमिदानीमित्यादिधियः कालविषयत्वे तस्य चैक्ये दिवसादिविरूपज्ञानं कथम् ? इत्थं, तुहिनाचलदक्षिणदिगवस्थितमिहिरमण्डलावच्छिन्नः कालोऽस्माकं दिनं तदुत्तरदिगवस्थितमिहिरमण्डलावच्छिन्नः कालोऽस्माकं रात्रिः तत्पूर्वदिगवस्थितमिहिरमण्डलावच्छिन्नः कालोस्माकं प्रातः तत्पश्चिमदिगवस्थितमिहिरमण्डलावच्छिन्नः कालोऽस्माकं सायं सन्ध्येति—तदुपाधिप्रतिसन्दधानानां तत्तदुपहितप्रत्ययोपपत्तिर्यथैकस्मिन्नेव महीमण्डले जम्बुद्वीपाद्युपहितबुद्धय इति । नन्वेकेन्द्रियेन कालो गृह्यते सर्वैरेव वा—घ्राणादेर्द्रव्यादेर्माहकत्वान्मनसो बहिरस्वातन्त्र्यात् कथमेवं न सर्वत्र ज्ञानोपनीतस्यैवास्य भानात् इदानीमिति बुद्धेरनादित्वात् अस्तु वानन्यगतिकतयास्वातन्त्र्येणैव सर्वेन्द्रियवद्योसौ भट्टवद् इत्याहुः । (fol. 112a-b).

There is another long passage of Taraṇi Miśra under II. i. 63 (fol. 130a), where Vācaspati II made an elaborate treatment of Vidhivāda (foll. 123-33).

Saṅkara Miśra recorded an original view of the *Ratnakoṣa* admitting a *fourth* kind of Kathā (*Vādivinoda*, p. 2) and cited its definition of the fallacy प्रकरणसम (*ib* , p 17). It should be mentioned here that Gaṅgeśa has finally accepted the definition of the term Upādhi given by the *Ratnakoṣa* (p. 336 : लक्षणं तु पर्यवसितं···). That Gaṅgeśa refers to the Ratnakoṣakāra in the very last definition cited by him in the Pūrvapakṣa (pp. 331-33) is clearly stated by both Sārvabhauma (fol. 94) and Jayadeva (*Āloka*, fol. 34b), though Maṇikaṇṭha (p. 86) is not quite clear on the point. It is likely that Gaṅgeśa adopted a chronological order in citing and criticising the eight definitions in the Pūrvapakṣa. If so, it may be also surmised that Taraṇi Miśra came slightly after Maṇikaṇṭha and all of them were more or less contemporaries. Taraṇi Miśra should, therefore, be living about 1300 A. D.

SONḌAḌOPĀDHYĀYA (also spelt SONDALA)[1] : This superior scholar of Mithilā has been immortalised by Gaṅgeśa or more correctly by the scholiasts of Gaṅgeśa as the propounder of an exceptional kind of Negation 'whose counterpositiveness is determined by an essence pertaining to a different substratum' (व्याधिकरणधर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकः) and which is, therefore, universally existent Sondada consequently rejects in a manner the doctrine of Anyathākhyāti (erroneous conception) advocated by orthodox Nyāya scholars. Gaṅgeśa refers to this amazing kind of Negation in the Vyāptivāda and rejects it concisely. Sārvabhauma notes at the beginning of the particular section. तत्र केवलान्वयिनि सोंदडीया केवलान्वयिसाध्याभावप्रसिद्धिमाशङ्कते—अथेति। (*Anumānmāṇiparīksā*, fol. 13a). The arguments against Sonḍaḍa were elaborated by Yajñapati and Jayadeva, but Śiromaṇi raised issues on the problem, concluding practically with an admission of that kind of negation, which marked one of the advanced courses of Navyanyāya studies and contributed to the fame and popularity of Sondaḍa, who started the debate.

According to the scholiasts, Gaṅgeśa had referred to Sondaḍa in many other places We shall soon see under Maṇikanṭha that in the Upādhivāda (p. 317-22) the views cited and refuted under the heading अन्ये तु were asscribed to 'Saundaḍa' by Gadādhara (p 916). In the section on Ākāṅkṣā (pp. 202-4) Sondaḍa's definition of that term has been cited and refuted by Gaṅgeśa.

In the Vidhivāda again a passage of Sondaḍa has been cited twice (*Śabdakhanda*, Pt. II, pp. 24 & 276), the last time under the heading नव्यास्तु. This proves that Sondaḍa, like Maṇikanṭha, was only slightly senior to Gangeśa. A line in the प्रामाण्यवाद (p. 221 ?) is a refutation of Sondaḍa according to Vidyānivāsa (49b).

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1 Vide, Sondala Upādhyāya Kavirāja, Ś B, Studies, Vol II, p 199f.

Mathurānātha in his commentary on Gaṅgeśa has cited two passages of Sondadopādhyāya, not found elsewhere. The first is a definition of Kevalānvayi (B. I ed., p 575), which has been ascribed, wrongly as far as we have ascertained, in some copies to Upādhyāya i.e Yajñapati, in whose work it is not traceable. There is another passage of Sondada cited by Mathurānātha under *Vidhivada* (p. 217).

An intricate passage in the Siddhānta-portion of the section on Parāmarsa (pp. 508-9., beginning with अथ यो यत्र) is cited from Sondada, for Sārvabhauma clearly notes here सोन्दडीय समाधिमाशङ्कते—अथेति (*Anumānamaṇiparīksā*, fol. 131a). Sārvabhauma also quotes a long passage towards the end of the section on Bādha as from Sondada and others (fol. 205a इति वदन्ति सोन्दडप्रभृतय). The following interesting passage is found in the *Tattvāloka* of Vācaspati Miśra II under I i 22, where various views about salvation (Apavarga) have been cited and discussed *सोन्दडोपाध्यायास्तु*—य एव परदु खस्यात्मन्यत्यन्ताभाव-स एव सुखदु खप्रागभावेऽपि । तथा च यदा ते सहकारिसम्पन्ना भवन्ति तदा दु खं जनयन्ति नो चेत् पण्डा एवेति युक्ता प्रव्रज्या । न च परदु खात्यन्ताभावस्य स्वदु खप्रागभावतादात्म्ये तस्य च प्रतियोग्युत्पत्तौ नष्टत्वे परदु खात्यन्ताभावोऽपि नश्येत् अन्यथा विरुद्धधर्माध्यासे तन्नो भिद्येतैवेति वाच्यम्, परदेहावच्छेदेन नष्टस्यापि तदभावावच्छेदेनानष्टत्वात् । मैवम् । (London I. O. copy, fol 63a). A Smārta scholar of Bengal named Kṛpārāma Tarkavāgīśa composed a large treatise named *Navyadharma-pradīpa* in 1686 Śaka (i e 1764-5 A.D.) In the explanation of the well-known Mīmānsā argument called हेतुवन्निगद occurs the following passage —न चार्थवादप्राप्तस्य कथं विधिविषयत्वमिति वाच्यम्, अभिधेयभूतस्यास्तावकत्वे अर्थवादस्य प्रमत्तगीततापत्ते । स्तुत्या तु यस्य विधेयत्वं लभ्यते एव यत्स्तूयते तद्विधेयमिति न्यायादिति *सोन्दडोपाध्यायफक्किका* । (Ms No. 1602 of Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, fol 84a cf. *Śabdakhaṇḍa*, ii, pp 509-12) Sondada was regarded in his times as the supreme leader of the social hierarchy in Mithilā.

This important fact is stated in a remarkable passage in the *Tattvanirnaya* of Paksadharopādhyāya (fl 1400 A.D.), a very rare Smrti work It runs—अत्र च महाज(ना)ना सोन्दलोपाध्याया(ना)-मन्येषा च व्यवहार उपष्टम्भक इत्याहु (fol 26a of a fragment preserved in the Mithilā Institute, under the topic of Sapindīkarana to be performed on the 12th day)

Sondada's date can be safely placed about 1300 A.D , as he was regarded as a 'recent' scholar by both Manikantha and Gangeśa The memory of his sogial supremacy was still alieve in 1400 A.D. and the intricate nature of his style and arguments betray a comparatively late age We are not inclined, therefore, to place him before 1275 A D

MANIKANTHA MIŚRA One of the greatest and latest authorities of Navyanyāya consulted by Gangeśa, who appears to have been profoundly influenced by him The only existing treatise by him named *Nyāyaratna* has been fortunately published recently in the Madras Govt Oriental series with a commentary by Nrsimhayajvan (1953 pp 249 with Introd etc.) It roughly covers the same ground as the *Anumāna* part of Gangeśa with which it bears a very fruitful comparison It is divided into 13 sections and the latter half of the book is taken up by an elaborate treatment of all the varieties of debates and fallacies including at the very end a small section on the Mahāvidyā syllogisms It has been stated in the English Introduction (p xxxi) that 'priority between Gangeśa and Manikaṇṭha cannot be proved, though it has been surmised on good grounds in the Sanskrit introduction (p 109) that Manikaṇṭha slightly preceded Gangeśa. The following evidences on the point, some of which we had published about a decade ago (G Jha R I Journ., Vol IV, p 300) prove conclusively that Manikaṇṭha preceded Gangeśa and the fact was known to earlier Navyanyāya scholars

(1) In the Siddhānta portion of the Upādhivāda Gaṅgeśa cited a passage under the caption अन्ये तु (B. I. ed., pp. 365-69). Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma distinctly notes here that the reference is to Maṇikaṇṭha—*मणिकण्ठीयं* मतमाह—अन्ये त्विति (Sarasvatī-Bhavana Ms. of Sārvabhauma's *Anumānamaṇiparīkṣā*, fol. 106b). As a matter of fact the first portion of the passage is found in the *Nyāyaratna* (p 92) Gaṅgeśa did not actually controvert the views expressed in the passage, but according to a well-known convention among philosophical authors all passages ascribed to others are not their own and scholiasts invariably try to bring out the unexpressed defects In the present case also Sārvabhauma has criticised Maṇikaṇṭha on behalf of Gaṅgeśa (fol. 107-8 इदं *मणिकण्ठमतमन्ये* त्विति कृत्वा स्वासंमतमावेदयतां मणिकृतामयमभिसन्धिः :—).

(2) Under the heading यत्तु Gaṅgeśa cited and criticised a definition in the very next passage (pp. 369-74), which is immediately followed by a passage of केचित्तु (p. 375) without any criticism. This latter is also taken from Maṇikaṇṭha (*Nyāyaratna*, p. 94) and Sārvabhauma remarks to clear the somewhat anomalous reference (fol. 108b) —यत्त्विति मतं स्वमतेन दूषयित्वा अन्येत्विति प्रक्रान्त-*मणिकण्ठ*मतेन दूपयति केचित्त्विति ।...अयमेव सन्दर्भ. । अन्यथा अन्येत्विति कृत्वा *मणिकण्ठ*मतमभिधाय पुन. केचिदिति तन्मताभिधानं पृथक् न युज्येत ।

(3) In the section on Parāmarśa the passage पृथक् वह्निमत्त्वस्मरणं तत्र नास्ति किं तु व्याप्त्यवच्छेदकतयेति चेत्—न । (p 507) is a refutation by Gaṅgeśa of Maṇikaṇṭha's views (*Nyāyaratna*, p. 120, lines 9-10), as stated by Sārvabhauma (fol. 130b : *मणिकण्ठ*समाधिमाह- पृथगिति).

(4) A definition of Savyabhicāra, one of the fallacies, has been cited and criticised by Gaṅgeśa (pp. 812-13 : नापि पक्षातिरिक्त- इत्यादि). It exactly occurs in the *Nyāyaratna* (p. 166) and we are again indebted to Sārvabhauma for the information (fol. 189b : मणिकण्ठीयं लक्षणं दूपयति—नापि पक्षातिरिक्तेति).

We should mention here that the first two passages referred to above are quoted more exactly by Vardhamāna and in a combined form in the *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa* (III, p 36) and what is much more important the first passage is also quoted in Vardhamāna's *Pramānaprakāśa* (p 691) under the heading सम्प्रदायविदस्तु Vardhamāna it should be noted wrote all his works after taking lessons directly from his father and Manikantha was to them a recognised authority of the school of Navyanyāya This is amply borne out by Gangeśa's borrowings from Manikantha in every section common in their works We shall cite some instances It was Manikantha who first controverted the well known retort of Śriharsa against Udayana (in the section on Tarka, p. 19) Gangesa reproduced the argument of Manikantha and added to it (p 233) There cannot be any doubt that Gangeśa formulated his famous definition of the term Vyāpti (known as Siddhāntalaksana p 100) on the basis of Manikantha's own definition (p 55) Gangeśa s section on Upādhyabhāsa (pp 398 405) is wholly borrowed from Manikantha (pp 105-108) many of whose passages (including an important one of the *Mānamanohara* as noted in the commentary, pp 106-7) have been omitted by him. Similar borrowings can be detected in the sections on Avayava and Hetvābhāsa It should be noticed that Gangeśa has entirely omitted the sections on Kathā, Chala, Jāti, Nigrahasthāna and Mahāvidyā found in the *Nyāyaratna*.

We should refer to one more passage, which has an important bearing on Manikantha's probable age In the section on Upādhivāda (pp 82 3) Manikantha cited and refuted the views of a scholar under the heading नवीनास्तु Gangeśa cited the same views under the heading अन्ये तु and almost exactly reproduced the arguments of Manikantha in their refutation (pp 317-22) with an additional argument of his own at the end According to Gadādhara (Chowkh ed , p. 916) the views refuted by Gangeśa in the passage under discussion were

of Sondaḍopādhyāya. Though no other scholiast has mentioned this fact so categorically it is supported indirectly by Yajñapati whose words have been reproduced by Pragalbha : व्यधिकरणधर्मावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिकाभाववादिनामेवेदं मतम्........ इत्यपि वदन्ति (*Anumāna Pragalbhī*, fol. 33a). So also Sārvabhauma upon the same passage साधनाव्यापकतया अभावस्तु व्यधिकरणधर्मावच्छिन्न-प्रतियोगिक इति यज्ञपतिमतम् (fol. 91a), as well as Jayadeva in the *Āloka* (fol. 33a). As Sondada has been cited by Gaṅgeśa also under the epithet नव्यास्तु (Vidhivāda p. 276), both Maṇikaṇṭha and Gaṅgeśa were slightly removed from the times of Sondaḍa and all the three great scholars thus become more or less contemporaries, a fact of supreme importance for the purposes of chronology.

There cannot be any question that a scholar referred to by Vardhamāna as 'Sampradāyavid' belonged to Mithilā In fact, a copy of the *Nyāyaratna* in the Telugu characters preserved at Tanjore (*Cat.*, p. 4735-7) mentions in the colophon, unfortunately corrupt in reading, that Maṇikaṇṭha was a 'Tīrabhuktīya' Miśra and was the Judicial chief of a certain king. The exact reading of the colophon runs तिरगुत्तियमिश्रोत्तंसु—राजधर्माधिकारिमणिकण्ठकृतन्यायरत्नं नाम प्रकरणं समाप्तम् । There was a conjunct consonant (ष्क ?) in the gap bored through by insects. The other copy in Grantha character was evidently only a transcript, more corrupt in reading, of the Telugu copy. It may be surmised that the book was written at the court of a foreign kingdom (Uttaramuṣka ?) outside Mithilā , a Maithila author would not describe himself as Tīrabhuktīya in his own country Maṇikaṇṭha may thus be among the band of scholars who carried the banners of Mithilā in other provinces.

In Mithilā also Maṇikaṇṭha's name was respectfully mentioned by eminent scholars. Vācaspati Miśra II wrote a commentary on the *Nyāyaratna* ; we have given an account of this interesting work in a subsequent chapter. Śaṅkara Miśra quo-

ted Manikanṭha's definitions of three Nigrahasthānas (अप्रतिभा, मतानुज्ञा, पर्यनुयोज्योपेक्षणम्) in the *Vādivinoda* (pp. 35 6). Yajñapati's son Narahari Uādhyāya in the section on Pakṣatā attempted to answer an adverse criticism of his father by his teacher Jayadeva and quoted Manikantha in his own support —न च तत्र पक्षताविरहव्यवहार एव नास्तीति वाच्यं *मणिकण्ठेन* पक्षताविरहप्रदर्शनात् . साधकमानेति वदतो *गगेशस्यापि* स्वरसाच्च । (Tanjore Ms No. 10944 of *Anumānadūsanoddhāra*, fol 70a). Jayadeva's nephew Vāsudeva in his turn attacked Narahari and concluded his argument with the humorous line *चिन्तामणिमनालोच्य मणिकण्ठप्रदर्शनमिति* (London, I O. copy of Vāsudeva's *Chintāmaniṭikā*, fol 44b). All these references prove that inspite of Gangeśa's epochmaking treatise Manikantha's work continued to be studied in Mithilā for a long time and it enjoyed a pan Indian popularity, as its copies are preserved in almost all Mss libraries of India It is rather surprising that an 18th century scholar of South India commented on it , the published commentary was written under a monarch Cāmarāja (of Mysore) who ruled late in the 18th century (*Nyayaratna*, p 7, Introd , p. xxxiv).

Manikanṭha had written another book named NYĀYACINTĀMANI twice quoted by him in the *Nyāyaratna* (pp 108 and 220). The name of this lost work has been printed as *Nayacintāmani*, but the variant (printed in p. 220 f. n) is in our opinion the correct one. For, Vācaspati Miśra II in his commentary on the first passage quotes from this lost work and concludes .—अथ च विवेचितविवेको मया *न्यायचिन्तामणौ* कृत इति तत एवाध्यवसेयमित्यर्थः । (B.O R.I. Ms No. 775 of 1884 87, fol 25a). The two references prove that it was a more elaborate work, covering partly at least the same ground as the *Nyāyaratna*. It was apparently superseded by Gangeśa's work bearing almost the same name We believe a careful search among the large number of manuscripts of Gangeśa's work may lead to the discovery of the long lost *Cintāmani* of Manikanṭha.

Like all Navyanyāya authors of the period Manikantha quotes Udayana more frequently than any other authority , the *Nyāyapariśista* of Udayana has been cited a dozen times towards the end in the sections on Jāti and Nigrahasthāna (from p. 202) and what is somewhat surprising, mostly criticised The *Kusumāñjali* is also cited and refuted once (p 81), Next to Udayana the Khandanakāra was reckoned with by Manikantha and refuted four times (pp 19, 39, 155 and 173) But the most important reference found in Manikantha is to the Ratnakośakāra (pp 86 & 178) As far as our present knowledge goes, the *Ratnakośa* is cited by Manikantha alone among pre Gangeśa authorities

Among original views of Manikantha we need only refer to two remarkable ones Like Siromani he has rejected Samānyalaksanā (pp 63 67), thus aligning himself for once with the Prabhākara school Gangesa's separate section upon that term finally establishes it as a fundamental doctrine of the Nyāya philosophy Manikantha s commentator Vācaspati Misra II, therefore attempts a compromise (fol 14b अत्र प्रामाणिका तस्मान्नाय ग्रन्थ सामान्यलक्षणाखण्डनपर, किं तु पूर्वोक्तयुक्तिमात्रखण्डनपर इत्याहु ।) According to Manikantha again Anupasamhāri is not a third variety of the fallacy named Savyabhicāra as established by Gangeśa but is included in the Vyāpyatvāsiddha (pp 165, 171-2)

SAŚADHARĀCĀRYA One of the authorities consulted by Gangeśa For it is definitely stated by Vidyānivāsa Bhattācārya in the *Pratyaksamanitikā* (Sarasvati Bhavana Ms, fol 22a) that Gangeśa refuted the views of Saśadhara in a well known passage of the Mangalavāda (B I. ed , p 110) : विष्णुपुराणानुसारि शशधरीयलक्षणमाह-यत्तु रागेति । It should be noticed that Gangeśa in the passage under discussion has put in a nutshell of two lines the substance of a whole paragraph of Śaśadhara (pp 18-20) The *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, of

Saśdhara has been published with a commentary (Varanasi, 1924 pp 652), though the edition is full of lecunas and incomplete towards the end It is possible now to assess the value of Śaśdhara's work as contrasted with Gangeśa's classic It is a collection of 26 separate tracts on important topics of the Nyāya, arranged rather loosely Bendiction (pp 1-37) is followed by Darkness (pp 37-78) and Luminous Gold (pp 299 319) by Partial Etymology of words (pp 320 49) without any relevancy The commentary attempted to answer Gangeśa's criticism (*vide* Gangeśa's Isvaravāda, B I ed, p 96-8) of Śaśadhar's views in some places (e g p 140 इत्यादि चिन्तामणिकृतो दूषणमलग्नकम् & p 141 इति गङ्गेशदूषणमलग्नक वेदितव्यम्). But the commentator is quite wrong when he supposes in one place (p 198) that Saśadhara anticipated Gangeśa There cannot be any question that Saśadhara preceded Gangeśa as can be easily proved by a comparison of their respective views on common topics The Vyaptivāda of Saśadhara (pp 379-410) examines about a score of definitions of the term Vyapti, of which the fifth one, among many others, exactly corresponds with a definition found in Gangeśa's Pūrvapaksa (B I ed, p 84), Similarly another intricate definition is examined by both (Śasadhara p 395 & Gangesa p 72) But Gangeśa's treatment of the topic is far more advanced, methodical and extensive Śaśadhara cited towards the end of his tract (p. 406-7) a view ascribed in the commentary to a certain 'Jarannaiyāyika', which is found almost axactly in the *Vyāptipañcaka.*

It should be mentioned in this connection that Gangeśa cited two similar definitions ascribed universally to two scholars, who were celebrated for their invincible career as dialecticians by the nicknames 'Lion' and 'Tiger' and Gangeśa's passage on the point, which subsequently developed into a large section, came to be known as Simha-Vyāghrī. What were the actual names of the two scholars has not been stated by any scholiast. But in the seminaries of Mithilā and

Bengal their names are given out as Śaśadhara (sometimes Śaśidhara) and Manidhara The present work of Śaśadhara does not exactly contain that definition But the fact remains that Professor Lion's definition was based on 'anonyābhāva' (*vide* Jayadeva's *Āloka* on the passage अन्योन्यात्यन्ताभावभेदेन लक्षणद्वयमाशङ्क्य निषेधति—नापीति fol 6b of a Ms in our possession). And Śaśadhara's own view was also on that same basis (p. 405). At any rate it is beyond any doubt that Gangeśa's reference was to two scholars of his own region Vidyabhūsana (l c pp 207 8) made a very curious suggestion that the reference was to two Jaina scholars of Western India named Ānanda Sūri and Amarcandra Sūri. This is on the face of it improbable. The above-named Jaina scholars could never command circulation of their unknown works in Eastern India and they were not certainly so famous as to influence a superior scholar like Gangeśa who, as a matter of fact has nowhere referred to any Jaina authority in his work Moreover, the two Jaina scholars were given the titles 'Tiger cub' and 'Lion-cub' respectively in their boyhood by the famous Siddharāja (1093 A D.) and not exactly Lion' and 'Tiger'

बाल्येऽपि निर्दलितवादिगजौ जगाद
यौ व्याघ्रसिंहशिशुकाविति सिद्धराज ।

(From Udayaprabha's *Dharmābhyudaya* Peterson's 3rd Rep , App I, pp. 16-19)

In the Īśvarānumāna Gangeśa covers the same ground as does Śaśadhara in the six tracts viz Īśvaravāda proper (Gangeśa pp. 1-87), Sahajaśaktivāda (pp 87-134) Ādheyaśaktivāda (pp 134-148) Kāranatāvāda (pp 148-155) Muktivāda (pp 156-148) and Jñānakarmasamuccayavāda (pp. 184-95) and many passages of Gangeśa can be traced in Śaśadhara. For instance, कामिनीचरण. of Gaṅgeśa (p. 145) is a clear improvement upon Śaśadhara (pp 158-9) and the next passage (p 145 : नापि वाग्मकास्यादौ) is also borrowed from Śaśadhara (p 160).

Gangesa has similarly borrowed phrases from Śaśadhara in many other topics

Sasadhara s date can be fairly fixed from the following evidence Saśadhara has approvingly quoted a Kārikā (V 7) of the *Kusumāñjali* under Vidhivāda (p 438) and has criticised Srivallabha's definition of Vyāpti (p 385) Moreover, Sivāditya's peculiar views on Darkness are cited by him (p 76 नीलरूपारोपविशिष्टस्तेज ससर्गाभावस्तम इति केचित्) The commentary correctly notes *शिवादित्यमतमाह-नीलरूपेवि* It should be noticed that Sasadhara has amplified the aphoristic words of Śivāditya as found in the *Saptapadārthi* (आरोपितनीलरूपोऽभावोऽन्धकार p 84 Cal Sans Series) There is one more important reference in the section on the Luminosity of Gold Sasadhara cited and refuted an argument of Vadivāgisvara (author of the *Mānamanohara* as the commentary correctly notes p 305) All the above references prove that Sasadhara cannot be placed before the 13th century A D and probably lived about 1300 A D He is not mentioned by Citsukha nor even by the latter's very well informed commentator, Pratyaksvarūpa His elaborate and intricate style of reasoning, which verges sometimes on that of Gangeśa himself points him out as an elderly contemporary of the latter The fact that his work survived even after the epoch making book of Gangeśa seems to show that his fame as an invincible dialectician lingered long in Mithilā and even Jayadeva wrote notes on his work as proved by a Ms (not however examined by us) preserved at Varanasi (S B Studies III, p 136)

It is stated in the Introduction of the printed edition of Śaśadhara's work 'from hearsay' (श्रूयते), that Saśadhara belonged to the Maunasa (?) gotra and was the son of Dharanidhara and grandson of Maheśvara Pandita , he had a brother Prithvīdharācārya by name The whole of it seems to be a canard Hearsay in the present century cannot record so many exact details about a scholar of the 13th century

NĀRĀYAṆA SARVAJÑA · In the *Vidyāsāgarī* commentary of the *Khaṇḍana* by the great Vedāntic scholar Ānandapūrṇa occurs the following passage (Chowkh ed, p. 714) —अत इति। व्याप्यनिरुक्तौ व्यापकत्वानिरुक्तेरेवेत्यर्थः। साध्यवन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभावाप्रतियोगित्वं साध्यव्यापकत्वं साधनवन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगित्वं साधनाव्यापकत्वमिति नारायणसर्वज्ञमतमपि निरस्तम्, व्याप्त्यसिद्धौ साध्यसाधनभावासिद्धेरिति द्रष्टव्यम्। ननु च साधनाव्यापकत्वमपि सर्वत्र निश्चेतु शक्यमित्यस्मात्प्रागिदं वक्तव्यम्। सत्यम्। ग्रन्थार्थं उपदेशतोऽवगन्तव्य इति अभिप्रेत्य व्यवहितसंबन्धितया करणाददोष इति॥ Here Ānandapūrna has cited Udayana's definition of Upādhi as improved by a scholar named Nārāyana Sarvajña This improved version was unknown to the Khandanakāra, whose argument however is hurled against the improvement by Ānandapūrna with some hesitation It should be noticed that Gangeśa at the very beginning of his Upādhivāda cited this version and refuted it (B. I ed, p. 296), though none of his scholiasts mentioned the name of Nārāyana as its author. Ānandapūrna (c 1350 A. D.) was thus quite unaware of the far more advanced views on the subject found in Gangeśa's work.

This Nārāyana Sarvajña may be identical with Sarvajña Nārāyana a famous commentator on the *Manusamhitā*, who has been cited about a hundred times in the *Dandaviveka* of Navya-Vardhamāna. He was later than Govindarāja and preceded Kullūkabhaṭṭa, according to Rāghavānanda Sarasvatī, another commentator (Buhler's Introd, S. B E, pp cxxviii ix) He was more probably a contemporary of Kullūka and belonged to the 13th century A. D.

Sañkara Miśra in the *Upaskāra* (p 329 under VII. ii. 10) cited and refuted the views of one Sarvajña (इति सर्वज्ञेन यदुक्तं) on the term 'Vibhāga'. It is probable that this unknown Vaiśesika scholar is also identical with Nārāyana Sarvajña Navya-Vardhamāna calls him Nārāyaṇa, Śankara calls him Sarvajña,

Anandapūrṇa calls him Nārāyana Sarvajña and in the *Manuṭīkā* he is Sarvajña Nārāyana Evidently one person is meant by all these variants of a name The lexicographer of the same name cited by Rāyamukuṭa and the author of the *Bhāratapra kāśa* (on the *Mahābhārata*) should also be mentioned in this connection

MURĀRI MIŚRA As is well known Gangeśa in the Prāmānyavada refuted the views successively of Prabhākara, Bhatta and Miśra and Vardhamāna in the *Kusumañjaliprakaśa* (II, p 9) mentioned the full name as Murāri Miśra. In the Īśvaravāda also (B. I. ed pp 114 15) Gangeśa referred to his views summarised by Vardhamāna (*Kusumāñjaliprakaśa*, I, p 49) In both these cases Murāri held views opposed to both Bhatta and Prabhākara though he was himself a Mimāmśā scholar and this has earned for him the celebrated adage 'Murāri s is the third way' (मुरारेस्तृतीय पन्था) His views on the problem of the apprehension of valid knowledge has been traced in Murari s commentary named *Tripadinitinayanam* on *Mim Sūtra* I. ii iv (Poona Ms dated 1644 V S , fol. 18 *vide* Dr Miśra's monograph on Murari, p 10) Another tract of Murāri named *Angatianirukti* is also available in print In the commentary Murari has referred to the *Vivarana* (of Prabhākara) the *Viveka* (i e *Nayaviveka* of Bhavanātha) the *Pañjikā* (of Śalikanātha) and the *Paribhāsā* Among authors the notable names are Candra Nandana and Srikara The mention of Śrsikara and Candra proves that his date falls after the 12th century A.D As he is not mentioned by any author before Gangeśa there is hardly any doubt that he flourished in the 13th century. This is confirmed by the fact that Gangeśa quoted him in the Iśvaravāda under the caption 'Navyāstu' (p 114) He was undoubtedly one of the authors who greatly influenced Gangeśa, as he admitted in the line गुरुभिर्ज्ञात्वा गुरूणां मतम् । He evidently belonged to Mithilā, where in the pre-Gangeśa period he was universally known

as 'Miśra'. The editor of the *Līlāvatī* (Chowkh. ed.) confused him in the index with a much later 'Miśra', who commented upon Vardhamāna.

JAGADGURU a hitherto unknown scholar who came after Udayana and before Gaṅgeśa. A passage in the Īśvaravāda (B I ed. p. 29) begins अन्ये तु अनुकूलकृतिसमवायित्वं कर्तृत्वम् The Īśvaravāda section of Gaṅgeśa is unfortunately neglected by Navyanyāya scholars due to the extreme popularity of Udayana's *Kusumāñjali* Jayadeva and his pupil Rucidatta commented on this section only concisely. The only scholar who subjected the section to a detailed examination is, as far as we have ascertained, Pragalbhācārya, whose commentary on this section (foll. 147 208) covers more than a quarter of of the whole *Anumāna* part. Pragalbha informs us that the above passage refers to a scholar named Jagadguru जगद्गुरुमत-मुपन्यस्यति- अन्ये त्विति (fol. 157b of Sarasvati-Bhavana copy of *Anumāna-Pragalbhī*) Apparently Jagadguru had written a commentary on the *Kusumāñjali*, from which the above passage was cited by Gaṅgeśa.

There is evidence that this Jagadguru had also commented on the *Kiraṇāvalī*. We have traced the following quotation in the *Dravyaviveka* of Pakṣadhara, which is an extremely rare sub commentary on the *Dravyakiraṇāvalīprakāśa* of Vardhamāna. Commenting on the line निरस्तैतद्द्वीपवर्तिरविरश्मिजालस्य कालविशेषस्य रात्रित्वात् (*Kiraṇāvalīprakāśa*, B I ed., p. 2) Pakṣadhara writes विशेषेति—कार्यद्रव्याधारत्वं विशेष. । नन्वेतद्द्वीपपदेन जम्बूद्वीपमुच्यते । तत्र च न रविरश्मिजालनिरास. मेरूत्तरदिशि तत्सत्त्वात् । किं च, महान्धकारे रात्रावपि पाकादिदर्शनादादित्यरश्मिसत्त्वावधारणादिसिद्धिरपीति चेत्—न, एतद्द्वीपपदेन भारतखण्डस्यैव विवक्षणात् । अतएव "रात्रिज्ञानं" चेत्यादितमोवादस्थले स्वफक्कि(का) व्याकुर्वता जगद्गुरुणा प्रकाशकृता च द्वीपो भारतं वर्षमित्यभिहितम् । (Fol. 3a-b of the unique London I. O. copy of the book). The passage of the

Kiraṇāvalī in the sction on Darkness occures on p 19 of the Chowkh ed *vide* p 104 of B. I. ed for Vardhamāna's note). It is now apparent that Vardhamāna was indebted to Jagadguru for his explanation of the word द्वीप in the above passage of Udayana We have cited the above passage from Paksadhara in full as a typical instance of valuable historical materials relating to Sanskrit literature still lying hidden in obscure books in manuscript.

Brief reference should be made of some other predecessors of Gangeśa about whom much is not known. In the Mangalavāda of the *Tattvacintāmani* (B I ed, p 72) Gangeśa attributes a view to 'others' (अपरे तु) Pragalbha alone identifies these 'others' with Raviśvara. cf रवीश्वरमत दूषयितुमुपन्यस्यति—अपरे त्विति (*Pratyaksa Pragalbhī*, ASB Ms, 15b). The same has been ascribed to Raviśvara by Śesānanta in his commentary on Saśadhara's *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* One Nyāyabhāskarakāra also preceded Gangeśa according to Kanāda Tarkavāgīśa Gangeśa, is said to refer to this little known author in the Savyabhicāra section (अथ साध्यसशयजनककोटिद्वयोपस्थापकधर्मवत्ताज्ञानविषयत्वे सति हेत्वभिमत स . *Tattvacintāmani*, Anumāna part p 789-90) cf. भास्करकृल्लक्षण दूषयितुमुत्थापयति—अथेति (A S B. Ms, 166b). Again यत्त्विय पृथिवीत्यनुभव in the *Pratyaksakhanda*, Jñaptivāda (p 268) has a complex syllogistic argument attached to it Vācaspati II attributes this to Bhāskārakāra (cf *Cintāmaniprakāśa*, Baranasi Ms 23a) Gangeśa quoted the openions of Vatsesvara, the Mīmāmsaka of the Prābhākara school, to whom the *Mīmāmsāmaharnava* is attributed. (*Pratyakṣa-Pragalbhi*, ASB Ms, 88b).

We want to conclude this chapter with Harinātha Upādhyāya He seems to be the youngest of the Naiyāyikas alluded to by Gangeśa. The definition of 'himsā' has been criticised in the *Śabdakhanda*, Vidhivāda section of the *Tattvacintāmani* There a passage begins with अपरे तु अनभिसहितनरान्तरव्यापार-

मद्वारीकृत्य मरणसाधनं हिंसा...तत्र ।...(pp. 222-4). Mathurānātha clearly attributes this to Harinātha. We have examined the older commentary, the *Śabdamaṇiprakāśa* of Haridāsa Nyāyālaṁkāra on this passage. There also occurs the following introductory remark, हरिनाथमतमाह (Navadvīpa Ms, 76b). In fact, there is a Smṛti digest of Harinātha, which contains almost the same passage as quoted by Gaṅgeśa. cf. तत्र नरान्तराव्यापाराव्यवहितप्राणवियोगफलकव्यापारकर्ता साक्षाद् वधी...। अतो व्यापारहेतुभूताभिसन्धानाविषयनरान्तरव्यापारानपेक्षमरणजनकव्यापारो वधः। तत्कर्ता वधीत्यर्थः (A S B Ms, f. 110). Gaṅgeśa here used '*vadhaḥ*' for '*hiṁsā*'. It may be added that Bhavadeva (c. 1100 A. D.) also discussed the definition of '*hanana*' in his *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa* (pp. 1-8). But the discussion of Harinātha and Gaṅgeśa is more advanced and intricate.

CHAPTER III

GAṄGEŚA UPĀDHYĀYA & HIS SON VARDHAMĀNA

Gaṅgeśa's achievement is quite unique in the history of philosophical literature in India. There is not another scholar in the whole medieval period who had such a spectacular success through one single book. The *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, a treatise of about 12000 *granthas* in extent, appeared like a flash to dispel the gloom of centuries succeeding Udayana and laid the solid foundation of Indian dialectics. When a devotee of the *belles-lettres* encountered him on an occasion Gaṅgeśa is said to have uttered the following magnificent bravado .

अनास्वाद्य गौडीमनाराध्य गौरीं विना तन्त्रमन्त्रैर्विना शब्दचौर्यात् ।
प्रसिद्धप्रबुद्धप्रबन्धप्रवक्ता विरिञ्चिप्रपञ्चे मदन्यः कविः कः ॥

This accords well with his confident assertion at the commencement of his work that he was the 'presiding professor of philosophical conclusions' (सिद्धान्तदीक्षागुरुः). The book divided into four grand parts after the four means of valid knowledge propounded by Gotama has a total of 46 broad sections (12+17+1+16) exclusively dealing with the single topic of Pramāṇa (प्रमाणतत्त्वमत्र विविच्यते). This well-knit marshalling of all relevant dissertations (vādas) into a single comprehensive treatise took the learned world by storm and in course of time single sentences of Gaṅgeśa, such as the *Vyāptipañcaka*, developed into separate works of considerable length. The number of sub-sections, therefore, will now count well over two hundred. The book has been ably summarised by Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*l. c.*, pp. 407-453).

Relevancy (सङ्गति) is one of the favorite topics of modern scholars and every section of Gaṅgeśa's book has been subjected in the first instance to a scrutiny on that point. Before him

Manikantha and Saśadhara, whose works are now available in print had made collections of dissertations on similar lines but they failed miserably on that fundamental point though they paved the way for Gangeśa The latter s style also improved considerably in precision and uniformity Methodology now became the key note of Indian logic and its repercussion on the historical and evolutionary treatment of topics was unfortunate Gangeśa and his followers became concerned with *what* precisely is the argument for and against a problem and cared very little for *who* argued Gangeśa s studies as he himself stated were confined to the Nyaya and works of the Prabhākara school which must have dominated higher studies in Mithilā at that time Unlike Udayana whose talents developed through his conflict with the powerful Buddhist scholars Gangeśa's conflict was with the Prābhakaras whose arguments are refuted by him in most places This fact has been stated as the special feature of his work by Rucidatta (But the wonder is that in his whole book there are barely half a dozen specific names and among them only one probably was a Prabhakara viz Srikara (*Iśvaranumana*, B I ed, p 186) Among the rest we need only mention Jayanta who is given the epithet जरन्नैयायिक (*Upamana* Pt p 61) It should be noticed that this is probably the earliest mention of the Kasmirian author by an Eastern scholar Gangesa might have been a poet also in his times, as his son Vardhamāna testified to his poetic talents in the epithet सुकविकैरवकाननेन्दु

Gangeśa's family Gangesa's name has been fortunately discovered by Prof R Jha in the *Pañjis* of Mithilā and this has an important bearing on his date We shall quote the exact words of the genealogists and discuss them carefully There are two manuscript copies of what is called a '*Śakhāpañji*' preserved in the Raj Library, Darbhanga One of them (Ms No 553) is very clearly written by one Purusottama at the village Mangalvanī in 1642 Saka (लोचन वेद्-कलाभि शाके)

and the other of about the same date is in a dilapidated condition both being in palm leaves Prof Jha is the only scholar who has studied them critically About Ratnakara son of Sāthu, of the वम्भनिग्राम family (of Vatsya gotra) it is written by Purusottama छादनस तत्वचिन्तामणिकारक म० म० परमगुरु गङ्गेश्वर दौ In the other copy (fol 39a) the same Ratnākara son of Sādhukara is described as छादनस चिन्तामणिकारक २ गङ्गेशदौ The figure 2 curiously stands for two M's i e Mahāmahopādhyāya दौ is an abbreviation for दौहित्र स stands for सभूत Gangeśa thus belonged to a family of which the Mula grāma was Chādana a village which remains yet to be identified in Mithila The family which was inferior in social status is now extinct in Mithila According to the *Gotrapañjī* it belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra It appears therefore that Vardhamāna was referring to his own family when he wrote in the *Kusumāñjaliprakaśa* (p 7) गोत्र काश्यपादि The daughter's son Ratnākara on the other hand belonged to one of the best families of Mithilā The *Pañjis* give elaborate accounts of the latter family, recording Ratnākara s alliances in great details. Gangeśa s family is completely ignored and we are not expected to know even his father's name

There is one more reference to Gangeśa in the *Pañjī* About Bhaveśvara of the respectable Jajibala family (of Sandilya gotra) Purusottama wrote छादनस तत्त्वचिन्तामणिकारक जगद्गुरु म० म० गङ्गेशसुत सूपनदौ भण्डारिसमस हरादित्यदु(हित्र दौहित्र)—सूपनभ्रातृ-हरिशर्मदानिति क्वचिज्जनिनाले। This is exactly found also in the other copy (fol. 339a) This proves that Gangeśa had at least three sons, Vardhamāna Sūpana and Hariśarmā It is interesting to find that the *Pañjis* record evidently from contemporary sources two of the highest titles with which Gangeśa was endowed viz 'Paramguru' and 'Jagadguru'—an evidence of the meteoric career that he enjoyed in his own land Only Vācaspati Miśra II enjoyed the former title according to the *Pañjis* As there is no other reference to

Gaṅgeśa we can assume that the family dwindled into insignificance again and became extinct soon after his sons' death. His native place is unknown, unless it be identical with his ancestral village Chādana Absured stories about his illiteracy, his overnight acquisition of knowledge through divine grace without studies and his quarrels with an uncle are still told in Nyāya seminaries specially in Bengal. They are completely falsified by his own words at the commencement of his work. The well-known verse किं गवि गोत्वमुतागवि गोत्वम् which he is said to have addressed to his uncle is ascribed it should be noted, by Vācaspati Miśra II in his *Khandanoddhāra* (p 149) to Dharmakīrti. Such stories existed from ancient times and travel from land to land to be localised wherever there are extra-ordinary talents

Date of Gaṅgeśa We shall discuss the problem of Gaṅgeśa's date in some details as there is much confusion among scholars about it Weber first suggested that Gangeśa lived in the 12th century A. D. (*Hist of Indian Lit.*, p 246 fn.) the authority cited (Z D M G, XXVII 168) is really based on an opinion expressed by an Indian scholar of no note without any evidence that Gangeśa lived '700' years ago (*Mookerjee's Magazine*, 1872, p. 123). The silent acceptance of such an unwarranted opinion by a scholar of Weber's repute produced perhaps a tendency among many scholars to place Gangeśa too early Keith also argued (*Indian Logic and Atomism*, 1921, p. 33) that he lived within 1150 1200 A. D. He was evidently influenced by Suali (l. c. p 66 note cf. I. O, II, p 547). The evidence he put up, specially on the connected dates of Jayadeva and Rucidatta, is absolutely wrong as we shall prove at the proper place. Vidyābhūṣana (*J A S.B.*, 1918, p 282, also *Indian Logic*, pp 406-7) placed him 'about 1376 A. D' on the basis of a succession of generations of pupils which is not correct and which is fundamentally useless for chronological investigation.

According to Dr H. P Śāstrī a Ms. of Vardhamāna's *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa,* now preserved in the Asiatic Society (No 794), provides a positive clue to his date The copy is divided into two parts written by two different hands with about a century intervening between them At the end of the part which was later in date there was a date '1342 Śaka' (i. e. 1420 21 A D.) The page mark 3 in the other part exhibits a peculiar form which was current, according to Bendall, within 1300-1360 A D. It is, therefore, impossible to place Vardhamāna after the 13th century A.D (*Hist of Tirhut,* 1922, p 179 *Des. Cat*, *A. S*, XI, pp 96-7) The evidence is wholly wrong at every single step We have carefully examined the copy, the date of the so-called later part is now completely effaced and it is impossible to surmise that the date was legible a few years back As a matter of fact, Dr. Śāstrī gave the date as '1334 to a Pandit who published it in his book '*Kusumāñjalisaurabha*' (1330 B S, Introd, p 13). He was not evidently sure of his reading of the date. The Ms. is on palm leaves and cannot be more than 400 years old by any consideration. Dr. Śāstrī, moreover, completely failed to notice that the form of the figure 3 on pages 30-39 of the so called earlier part is quite modern in appearance and the same scribe used both the forms. It is impossible therefore to hold, as Bendall did that a particular form was current just within 60 years of the 14th century A. D We have found the same form in many manuscripts of the 16th and 17th centuries

Gangeśa's date can be fixed within narrow limits from a thorough investigation of literary evidence, internal and external, as well as facts from family history now available in abundance.

(1) Among his predecessors, whose accounts have been collected in the last chapter, there are several who belonged to the 13th century A. D. We should repeat the names of Narā-

yana Sarvajña, Divākara, Maṇikantha and Harinātha. The last two scholars might be living still in the first quarter of the 14th century A. D and the *terminus a quo* of Gaṅgeśa's period of activity should be taken as 1325 A D

(2) The earliest writer to refer to Gaṅgeśa as far as we can gather at present, is the great Maithila scholar Vateśvara Upādhyāya, who must have criticised Gaṅgeśa sometime between 1350 75 A D Thus Gaṅgeśa's period of activity terminated, at the present state of our knowledge, in 1350 A D

(3) This is confirmed by the notable fact which seems to have escaped the notice of scholars, that no foreign' scholar has ever referred to Gaṅgeśa before 1400 A D We shall cite some instances The *Nayanaprasādinī* commentary on the *Citsukhī* is truly a cheering storehouse of quotations from all philosophical works written in India till the time of the author The *Citsukhī* was written in the middle of the 13th century and the commentary about 1400 A D We have failed to discover any reference in it to the Maithila scholars Taraṇi Miśra, Maṇikaṇṭha or Gaṅgeśa The views of 'new' dialecticians in Vādindra's *Rasasāra* (p 62) or the reference to the followers of the 'equivoque' in the *Citsukhī* (Bombay ed , 1915, pp 176 and 353) are sometimes loosely ascribed (Introd to the *Rasa sāra* p. 5) to Gaṅgeśa in whose work they are not certainly traceable Gunaratna, who wrote one of his works in 1409 A D., does not mention Maṇikaṇṭha or Gaṅgeśa in his *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayavṛtti*

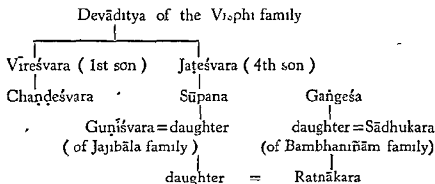
Cinnabhaṭṭa commented on the *Tarkabhāṣā* under Śrī-Harihara-Mahārāja' (so in the colophon, Dr. Bhandarkar's ed , p. 262), who was identical with Harihara II of Vijayanagara (1377-1404 A D.). In the commentary itself there is incidental mention of 'Vijayanagarī' (p 228), the great centre of culture in South India But Cinnabhaṭṭa proves himself absolu-

tely oblivious of the great upheaval of studies on the Tarkaśāstra in Mithila under Saśadhara, Manikantha and Gangeśa and was still looking upon Varadarāja (p 133 & 145) and Vādīndra (p 214) as the latest authorities on the Śāstra It should be mentioned in this connection that about a century after Cinnabhatta Balabhadra of Varanasi a profound scholar of Navyanyāya of the Gangeśa brand, referred in his commentary on the *Tarkabhāsā* to the classical works of the school like *Draiyopāya* and *Tattvabodha* of Vardhamāna (fol 4 of Poona Ms No 200 of 1884 6) and all the subsequent scholiasts of the book Viśvakarmā Govardhana Gopīnātha and Gaurikānta to name only a few were followers of Gangeśa

Similarly the great polymath of South India Ānandapūrna Vidyāsāgara whose date has been fixed by Dr Raghavan as 'about 1350 A. D.' (Annals of Oriental Research, IV i p 2), in his standard commentary on the *Khandana* of Śrīharsa quoted an advanced refinement of Udayana's definition of Upādhi ascribed by him to one Nārāyana Sarvajña (Chowkh ed, p 714) This particular refinement however, was cited and refuted by Gangeśa at the very beginning of his Upādhivāda (*Anumāna*, B I ed , pp 296-9), where the subject was treated in a far more advanced and intricate manner, of which Vidyāsāgara was quite oblivious

In South India the Mādhva scholars specialised in studies on the Navyanyāya to an extent not found anywhere else (except Bengal) They refuted the arguments of Gangeśa and his followers, meeting them in their own method But the earliest writer to launch this attack was the great Vyāsatīrtha (1460-1539 A. D.), whose *Tarkatāndava* is, as far as we are aware, a pioneer work in the field No Mādhva scholar before Vyāsatīrtha had any acquaintance with the Maithila upheaval under Gangeśa.

(4) Among Maithila scholars the date of Caṇḍeśvara, the author of the several *Ratnākaras* is now fixed beyond any dispute. He performed a Tulāpurusa in 1236 Śaka (1314 A. D.), evidently in his early youth, and wrote his last work the *Rājanītiratnākara* about 1370 A. D. under king Bhaveśa. Long before the discovery of the last named work it was known traditionally that he survived in the reign of king Bhavasimha (*Hist. of Tirhut*, 1922, p. 170 fn). His date of birth, therefore, cannot be placed before 1275 A. D. and the period of his literary activity must now be placed between 1320-70 A. D. The following synchronistic table makes Gangeśa a contemporary of Caṇḍeśvara



Ratnākara had many wives and this was his last wife Gaṅgeśa, therefore, was very much senior to Sūpana just like Caṇḍeśvara, who was the eldest man of the family in that generation This wife of Ratnākara, it should be noticed, was a cousin of the famous Vidyāpati. Guṇīśvara, father-in-law of Ratnākara, was ninth in descent from the first ancestor of the Jajibāla family named Daṇḍapāṇi All these point to the conclusion that Gaṅgeśa can by no means be placed before 1300 A. D.

(5) Caṇḍeśvara's younger cousin Rāmadatta engaged M M. Bhavaśarman of the Khauāla family to write for him the *Mahādānapaddhati*. Bhavaśarman, therefore, was an exact

contemporary of Candeśvara and wrote that book in the second quarter of the century within 1325 50 A. D. Now Bhavaśarmar's mother's mother was the eldest daughter of M. M Kāhnu of the Sankarādhi family, who was thus about two generations earlier than Bhavaśarman Kāhnu's second daughter was given in marriage to Lakṣmīśvara of the Jajibāla family, sixth in descent from the first ancestor Dandapāni Lakṣmīśvara's (elder) cousin Subhadatta was the great-grandfather (प्रपितामह) of Harāditya (alias Jīva), the husband of Gangeśa's granddaughter (पौत्री) Gangeśa therefore like Bhavaśarman was two generations later than Kāhnu It confirms our contention that Gangeśa cannot be placed before 1300 A. D by any means Kāhnu's youngest daughter's daughter was the younger stepmother of M M Jagannātha of the Mandara family, father of the famous Vateśvara Upādhyāya mentioned above Jagannātha was thus a contemporary of both Bhavaśarman and Gangeśa, while Vateśvara becomes a contemporary of Gangeśa's son Vardhamāna [1]

The *Tattvacintamani*

A rapid survey of the contents of the book is however necessary for our purpose Gangeśa produced this 'jewel', as he states in the third introductory verse for the decoration of scholars and for dispelling the terrible darkness of heretics. Moreover, opponents (so ably exposed herein) will no longer press their views cleverly in debates and the doctrines of his own school are stated fully without mincing matters

विपक्षपक्षे न विचारचातुरी
न च स्वसिद्धान्तवचोदरिद्रता ।

The ideal has been maintained by the author throughout with conspicuous success

1 For other informations about Gangeśa vide our '*Vange Navyanyāyacarcā*' pp 15-19

In the first part dealing with Perception the preliminary section on Benediction (pp 5 114) thoroughly examines the topic in all its aspects and it has been elaborated by many later scholars, though Siromani did not touch it Gangesa deals with only the first and foremost of the 16 topics of Gautama, viz Pramāna and the next section on Prāmānya divided into three sub-sections Jñapti (pp 114 286) Utpatti (pp 287 371) and Pramālaksana (372 429) really forms the introduction to the whole book and consequently this section and curiously enough this section alone of the Pratyaksa part is assiduously studied by all students of Navyanyaya The next section on Anyathākhyāti or Error (pp 430-537) also belongs to the general introduction being a corollary to the previous section , the views of the opposing Prabhakara school who advocate in their Akhyātivada that no knowledge is an Error have been elaborately examined in this section It is interesting to find that Gangeśa has quoted five rare Kārikās of the Prabhākaras (pp 465 468 470 474 & 475 6) in this section

The four fold division of Pramāna and the definition of Pratyaksa is taken up in the next section which particularly deals with one of the terms used in the definition viz Sannikarsa or Intercourse and its six varieties in the ordinary plane. The whole of this main portion including this section which really gave the name to this first part is now obsolete and its place has been taken by elementary works notably the corresponding portion of the Muktavali Siromani did not touch this portion at all, proving that it was already getting out of date about 1500 A D

Four of the varieties of Sannikarsa are based on Samavaya or Inherence, one of the Vaisesika categories which is not accepted by some schools of thought Gangeśa devotes a small section for its establishment (pp 640 72) In the next section Anupalabdhi (Non Perception) which is regarded as a sepa-

rate means of valid knowledge by the Vedānta and Bhātta schools, specially for the knowledge of that much debated category Abhāva (Negation), is rejected (pp. 673-92) from the Nyāya stand-point, under which Negation is perceptible through the senses One rare Kārikā is cited in this section (p 688), which is followed by an important section on Abhāva (pp. 693-719), which unfortunately is not studied in the seminaries at present It should be noted that in the *Śabda* part Gangeśa refers to an Abhāvavāda, which seems to be a separate and earlier tract on the subject —तदुक्तमभाववादे—अन्यद्भूतलज्ञानमन्यच्च घटवद्भूतलज्ञानम्। (*Śabda*, Pt II, p 475 under Śaktivāda). In this section Gangeśa cites the following brilliant verse of the opponents, who do not accept Abhāva as a separate category –

एतेन—"दृष्टस्तावदय घटोऽत्र च पतन् दृष्टस्तथा मुद्गर
दृष्टा खर्परसहृति परमितोऽभावो न दृष्टोऽपर।
तेनाभाव इति श्रुति क्व निहिता किं चात्र तत्कारण
स्वाधीना कलशस्य केवलमिय दृष्टा कपालावली॥"

इति निरस्तम्। मुद्गरपाताद् विनष्टो घट इति प्रतीत्यतिरिक्तविनाशानुभवात् (p 717) This very verse is traceable in Ratnakīrti's *Sthirasiddhidūsana* (Patna ed. of Ratnakīrti's works p 111), ascribed to his teacher (यदाहुर्गुरव) i e the great Jñanaśrī (Ratnakīrti reads पलियस्य for कलशस्य). Jñānaśrī was still a force to be reckoned with in Gangeśa's times The verse actually occurs in his *Kṣanabhañgādhyāya*

In the next section on Pratyaksakārana (pp 720-62) the most elaborately treated subject is the peculiar Nyāya thesis that Gold is not a substance, but only a sort of light. One of the sources of Gangeśa on the problem was Udayana (p 750). In the next section (pp. 763-83) the well-known Nyāya theory that Mind is an organ and it is minute ('anu') is established. Anuvyavasāya (apperception), one of the vital things connected with Perception, is next dealt with (pp. 784-898), followed by Nirvikalpa and Savikalpa, the two kinds of Perception, with which the first part ends.

The second part on Anumāna (Inference) is by far the most popular, though the most intricate portion of the whole book. It is now broadly divided into two halves, commonly known as the Vyāptikānda and Jñānakānda and scholars used to specialise in either of them or rarely in both The first section on the definition of Anumiti or Inferential knowledge and establishing the validity of Inference against the views of Cārvāka (pp. 1-26) is immediately followed by a grand section, Vyāptivāda dilating on the first term of the definition viz. Vyāpti (Invariable concomitance of the middle term with the major term) There are seven sub-sections under it, viz. Vyāptipañcaka (five provisional definitions), Simha Vyāghrī (two similar definitions of Professors Lion and Tiger), Vyadhikaranadharmāvacchinnabhāva, Pūrvapaksa (collection of various other definitions), Siddhāntalaksana (final definition of Gangeśa), Sāmānyābhāva (a separate class of Negation formulated for clearing a definition) and Viśesavyāpti (other specialised definitions) The next section on Vyāptigrahopāya (pp. 174-252) consists of two sub sections, Tarka (confutation) and Vyāptyanugama The first half ends with Sāmānyalaksanā, a much debated kind of preter-natural sense contact, established by Gangeśa.

The second half opens with Upādhi (vicious condition), its definition classification ground of vitiation and fallacious aspects. But the section is long out of date and is now almost a lost portion of the book The remaining sections are the delight of all serious students of Navyanyāya—Paksatā (on the minor term), Parāmarśa (Deduction), Kevalānvayī & Kevalavyatirekī (kinds of Anumāna), Arthāpatti (Presumption, not a separate Pramāna as advocated by the Mīmāmsā) Avayava (five limbs of a syllogism) and the last section on Hetvābhāsa (Fallacy) consisting of ten sub sections viz Sāmānyanirukti (General definition), Savyabhicāra &c (five kinds of fallacy with three sub classes treated in 8 different sub-sections)

closing with a statement on the efficacy of fallacies in demonstrating inefficacy of arguments.

The latest phase of Navyanyāya studies in India for about two centuries flowed through a large number of channels cut by single sentences or phrases of this part of Gaṅgeśa's work and by far the widest channel emerged from the general definition of Fallacy. It has now assumed proportions through the efforts of all the best Indian brains in Navyanyāya, which is a world's wonder in the field of intellectual feats, though to the uninitiated it is only 'a vast mass of perverted ingenuity' (Keith Indian Logic and Atomism p. 35) The Īśvaravāda of Gaṅgeśa, which is the concluding section of this *Anumāna* part, is, as we have stated before, now obsolete, being lost in the unfading glory of the original *Kusumāñjali* of Udayana, on which it was based

Likewise the Upamāna part of Gaṅgeśa has been quite out of date for a very long time Only one scholar of Mithilā as far as we are aware, commented on it viz Rucidatta. Pragalbha of Bengal distinctly stated that while there are ways devised by the learned on the three major parts, not even a 'sigh' was made in the hard Upamāna part, where he was 'without a prop'.—

उपायाः प्रत्यक्षे चरममनुमाने च कृतिभिः
कृता शब्दे चित्रं न विलसनमस्त्येषु किमपि ।
न चोच्छ्वासोऽप्यत्रोपमितिकरणेऽकारि गहने
निरालम्बे किंचिल्लिखति भुवि यः सोऽत्र विरलः ॥

(Pragalbha's *Upamānasaṅgraha*, A. S Ms., Introd. v 2).

The fourth part of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* deals with verbal testimony and is called the *Śabdakhaṇḍa*. It opens with the definition of verbal testimony—Śabdanirūpaṇa. A discussion on Śābdabodha (verbal judgement) follows. *Śabdaprāmāṇyavāda* then proves the validity of verbal testimony as an independent

organ of cognition. Then follow the dessertations on ākānksā (expectancy), yogyatā (compentency) āsatti (contiguity) and tātparya (word import) which are indispensable conditions to produce verbal judgement The Śabdānityatāvāda deals with non eternity of sound The ucchannapracchannavāda deals with the theory that sound is destroyed and not-concealed The vidhi, apūrva and śaktivadas deal with Vedic Injunctions merit and demerit and potentiality respectively. Next comes the dessertation on Laksanā-secondary meaning The following sections deal with the logical implication of the grammatical problems like compound words (samāsa), verbal suffixes (ākhyāta), the roots (dhātu) and prefixes (upasarga) The concluding section establishes the validity of the four types of cognitive instruments after refuting the validity of aitihya (tradition), janaśruti (rumour) arthāpatti (implication) and anupalabdhi (non apprehension)

Like the *Anumanakhanda* the *Śabdakhanda* also became highly popular and numerous commentaries were written on both of them In the Nyāya seminaries of Mithilā and Bengal almost equal importance was attached to both

The work of Gangeśa became highly popular very soon and was studied and commented upon in various centers of culture of India. It not only cast the works of the old school of logic into oblivion but the neo logical works of his predecessors also faded into insignificance and gradually were forgotten due to its overwhelming popularity and all embracing character. We, however, find scholars like Vardhamāna Vācaspati Miśra II, Sankara Miśra and others devoting much time and energy to revive the old school of Aksapāda But their efforts met with no conspicuous success

The influence of Gangeśa's school was felt even outside the boundaries of India and we hear of Burmese Mss of neo-logical works in Mss. Libraries (*vide* I O Cat. Vol II. p 576).

VARDHAMĀNA UPADHYĀYA The *Tattvacintāmani* soon established a school through the works of Gangeśa's son and disciple Vardhamāna. The contributions of this great logician bear the titles 'prakāśa' and 'upāya . Later authors refer to him as 'Upāyakāraka'. It appears that Vardhamāna had no sons but his grand children through a daughter were many and we get their accounts in the *Pañjis* We give below a list of Vardhamāna's Nyāya Vaiśesika works

(1) *Anvīksānayatattvabodha*—commentary on chapter V of the sūtras of Gotama Pt. Surendralal Tarkatīrtha utilized a Ms of this work in his edition' of the *Nyāyasūtravivarana.* M M Ganganatha Jha is said to have discovered two Mss of it. One more is preserved in the Sarasvati Bhavana Baranasi and a fourth in the Viśvabhāratī, Śāntiniketana We have mentioned (p 78 above) the *Trisūtrītattvabodha* of Vardhamāna. But no other information regarding the rest of the work is available.

(2) *Nyāyanibandhaprakaśa.* It has partly been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series along with Udayana's *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaparisuddhi.* Vardhamāna must have completed the work and chapters I & III of it are available in a manuscript (No. III c 123) of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. A very old palm leaf Ms. of the *Prameyanibandhaprakāśa* is preserved in the Government Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta.

(3) The *Nyāyapariśistaprakāśa* has been published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series along with the *Nyāyapariśista* of Udayanācārya.

(4) The *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa* has also been published long ago

(5) The *Kiranāvalīprakāśa*—The Dravya and Guna sections have been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series and the Sarasvati Bhavana text series respectively.

(6) The *Līlāvatīprakāśa* has been published from Chawkhamba, Baranasi.

(7) A Ms. of the *Khaṇḍanaprakāśa* is preserved in the Asiatic Society, Bengal.

(8) Vācaspati Miśra II in his *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* (p. 77) mentions Vardhamāna's work bearing the same title .

(9) Padmanābha refers to the sub-commentary on the *Bauddhādhikāraprakāśa* of Vardhamāna by Balabhadra in the *Setu* (p. 378).

(10) The *Tarkaprakāśa* on Keśava Miśra's *Tarkabhāṣā* is said to have been preserved at Ulwar (Ulwar Cat , p. 28, No. 653 with a sub-commentary on the same *Ibid,* No. 654).

It is said that an incomplete Ms. of the *Maṇiprakāśa* of Vardhamāna came to the Sarasvati Bhavana, (Venis · Benares Cat. p 193). But we could not trace it For various reasons we cannot accept that Vardhamāna commented on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. Vardhamāna refers to his earlier works in subsequent ones. The *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa* mentions the *Tattvabodha*, the *Nibandhaprakāśa* and the *Pariśiṣṭaprakāśa* The *Līlāvatīprakāśa* mentions the *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa.* Vardhamāna quotes his father's views in numerous cases. But we find no reference to the *Maṇiprakāśa* either in his own works or in those of his successors On the other hand the remarks added to a big quotation from the *Cintāmaṇi* in the *Nyāyanibandhaprakāśa* (pp. 677-92)—"'इति पितृचरणोन्नीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैरस्माभिरुक्तो विस्तरो नानवधेयः seem to suggest that Vardhamāna wrote no commentary on his father's *magnum opus.* In case of the existence of such a commentary the clarification of his father's views in a different context would have been irrelevant. As Vardhamāna was held in high esteem both in Mithilā and Bengal, non-mention of such an important commentary of Vardhamāna if ever written, in later exegetical works on the *Tattvacintāmani* is impossible to conceive.

Vardhamāna tried to bridge the gulf between the two schools of orthodox Logic—the old and the new As we have just seen, he commented on the old classics current in his days. But the views of his illustrious father were always uppermost in his mind and he made the best use of them in his works

As a smrti writer also, Vardhamāna commands great respects in Mithilā. He wrote the *Smṛtiparibhāṣā*, the *Śrāddhapradīpa*, the *Ācārapradipa* and other smrti digests.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF EXPANSION

Jīvanātha Miśra The eldest brother of Śankara Miśra's father Bhavanātha Śankara Miśra stated clearly in almost all his works that he had only reproduced the lessons he had received on each of the classics commented by him from his own father, who again took lessons from his own brother Jīvanātha, who might be regarded as the great genius behind all the eminence achieved by Sankara In the *Vādivinoda* (p 61) Śankara cited an important passage of Jīvanātha on the section of fallacy —साध्यात्यन्ताभावसामानाधिकरण्य सव्यभिचार इत्येके। साध्याभावसामानाधिकरण्यमात्र व्यभिचार । किं च गन्धप्रागभावावच्छिन्नपृथिव्या गन्धात्यन्ताभाव एव इति नाय पन्था इति *जीवनाथमिश्रा* । This is a refutation of Gangeśa (*vide Anumāna* part, B. I ed, pp 970-71 towards the end of the section on Bādha) There is another quotation from Jīvanātha in the *Upaskāra* (under IX ii 1, B I. ed, p 392), it is an extremely intricate definition of the term 'paksa' Next to it, Śankara cited the well-known definition of Gangeśa in a rather slighting mode (इति केचित्) and found fault with it (एतन्मते बाधस्थलेऽपि पक्षता) referring to his own *Manimayukha* for further (adverse ?) discussion Jīvanātha's antagonism to Gangeśa was evidently derived from Vateśvara Upādhyāya, who was his maternal grandfather according to reliable genealogical records. Vateśvara's descendant Narahari in his critique on Smrti named *Dvaitanirnaya* refers to Jīvanātha's legal decisions several times (Darbhanga ed, pp 18, 20 & 58) and once as aligning with Vateśvara (*ib*, p 32 एवमेवास्मद्वृद्धप्रपितामहवटेश्वरोपाध्याया, *जीवनाथमिश्रादयोऽप्येवम्*) It appears that Jīvanātha had written a critical treatise on Smrti named *Dvaitanirnaya*. We traced the following rare quotation in Gokulanātha's commentary (*Pradīpa*) on Vācaspati's *Dvaita-*

nirnaya (A. S Ms No. I. D 5, p 11) अतएव *जीवनाथ-द्वैत-निर्णये* इतिपदसमभिव्याहारात्मपदाभ्या बाधितत्वादित्युक्तम् । Jīvanātha's date is about 1400 A. D , he was evidently not alive when Śaṅkara Miśra took lessons from his younger brother and pupil Bhavanātha (about 1425 A. D.) Śaṅkara was not a direct pupil of his uncle Jīvanātha.

GAṄGĀDITYA One of the earlier authorities upon the text of Gaṅgeśa His name was almost completely lost till we discovered the following reference in the Pratyakṣa part of the *Cintāmaṇivivecana* of Vidyānivāsa Bhattācārya. The unique manuscript of this work of Vidyānivāsa now preserved in the Sarasvati Bhavana, Varanasi, has been thoroughly examined and fully described by us in our account of Vidyānivāsa (*Vaṅge Navyanyāyacarcā*, pp. 63-78). In the section on Prāmāṇyavāda Vidyānivāsa explains —(fol. 53a) भट्ट-मुरारि-न्यायमतेषु स्वग्राह्यप्रामाण्याप्रसिद्धापार्थकमिति च ज्ञेयमिति नञ्गर्भपाठो *वर्द्धमान-गङ्गादित्यानुमत* । (*vide* B I. ed., p 239 fn & *Māthurī* p, 240). The reading अग्राह्यप्रामाण्यापेक्षया is actually found in the *Gunaprakāśa* of Vardhamāna (S. B. Text, p. 193) The mention of Gaṅgāditya's name along with that of Vardhamāna proves that Gangāditya was an author of fairly early date say, about 1400 A. D and probably commented on Gaṅgeśa's work. Vidyānivāsa wrote the commentary about 1490 A. D.

GHAṬEŚOPĀDHYĀYA Another name hitherto entirely lost mentioned by the above-mentioned Vidyānivāsa in the same book (fol. 47a) —अतएव घटेशोपाध्यायो नियममेतं तुच्छीकृत्य दोपौत्कट्यात् पीतादिभ्रम इति स्वीचक्रे । तद्वदत्र दोपौत्कट्यात् संशयः स्यादिति चेत्—(*vide* B. I. ed , pp. 207-8). It is not unlikely that this unknown scholar, evidently belonging to Mithilā, might have preceded Gaṅgeśa himself

NYĀYALOCANAKĀRA · The name of this author remains yet to be discovered. He was one of the earliest scholars

who criticised Gaṅgeśa and evidently belonged to Mithilā. Śaṅkara Miśra in the *Vādivinoda* cited his definition of 'Vyāpti' : (p. 57) साध्याभाववदवृत्तित्वमव्यभिचारः। अव्यभिचारित्वमेव च व्याप्तिः। अवृत्तिगगनादेर्व्याप्तिसत्त्वेऽपि पक्षधर्मताया असत्त्वात् न तल्लिंगतेति न्यायलोचनकृतः। The language proves that the passage is meant as an answer to the Vyāptipañcaka of Gaṅgeśa In Sārvabhauma's *Śabdamaṇiparīkṣa* there are two references to the *Nyāyalocana* (Varanasi Ms , fol 28b & 85a), of which the first passage runs धर्मिण उपस्थितावपि द्वारत्वस्य तज्जन्यजनकत्वरूपस्य प्रमाणान्तरेणानुपस्थितेरिति न्यायलोचनदूषणमपास्तम्। Here Sārvabhauma clearly indicates that the unknown author attempted to find fault with Gaṅgeśa Yet another passage of the *Nyāyalocana* was traced by us in the *Śabdamaṇiprakāśa* of the famous Bengali scholar Haridāsa Nyāyālankāra (fol. 91b of a Ms. preserved in the Anglo-Sanskrit Public Library at Navadvipa) It runs —एवं कीर्तनकर्मनाशादिनाऽदृष्टान्तरं जायते तत पुण्यविनाश। एव रोगादिस्थले दुःखविशेष एव संस्कारनाशकः। एवं नमस्कारादिनापि पापनाशायादृष्टान्तरं जन्यत इति न्यायलोचनमतम्। तत्तुच्छं तादृशनियमस्याप्रयोजकत्वेन दूरं निरस्तत्वात्। This also seems to be an attempt to find fault with Gangeśa. As the book is not mentioned by any recent writer of Mithilā and Bengal the author must have flourished before 1400 A. D., the approximate birth date of Śankara Miśra as ascertained by us.

There is an illuminating passage of the *Nyāyalocana* in the *Tattvāloka* of Vācaspati Miśra II under II ii. 58 (fol 153a) न्यायलोचनकृतस्तु न शक्तत्वं पदत्वं तद्बुद्धिजनकतावच्छेदकरूपवत्त्वं तच्च रूपे यद्यस्ति तदा तदेव लक्षणं नोचेदिदमप्यकिंचित्करं तथा च येन रूपेण यत्रान्वयस्य शब्दस्य ईश्वरेणासाधारणी व्युत्पत्तिः कृता तादृशासाधारणव्युत्पत्तिविषयत्वमेव पदत्वं व्युत्पत्तिस्तु क्वचित् सङ्केत. क्वचिच्छक्यसबन्धः। न च वाक्येऽतिप्रसङ्गः तत्रासाधारणव्युत्पत्त्यभावात् यथा घटमानयेत्यादौ "इत्याहुः॥ This is a clear refutation of Gaṅgeśa.

JAYADEVA *alias* PAKṢADHARA MIŚRA : is the only scholar of the post-Gaṅgeśa period in Mithilā who succeeded in

setting up a new school (*sampradāya*) of Navyanyāya through his immortal work—the *Āloka* on the three parts of Gaṅgeśa's work (omitting the small Upamāna part) It dominated Nyāya studies throughout India for a long time Pakṣadhara's invincible career as a dialectician is immortalised in the line पक्षधरप्रतिपक्षो न लक्ष्यते क्वापि लोकेऽस्मिन् । The story of his encounter with Vyāsatīrtha (1460-1539 A.D.) of Karnāta when he is said to have claimed in admiration of the latter[1] :

यदधीतं तदधीतं यदनधीतं तदप्यधीतम् ।
पक्षधरप्रतिपक्षो नावेक्षि विनाभिनवव्यासेन ॥

or the far more well-founded victory over him of Śiromani of Bengal is really a reflex from his great glory The following account of him collected from authentic sources, some of which were not yet properly investigated, gives many new facts about him

His works —He is universally known as the author of a single book, the *Āloka*, which practically superseded all previous commentaries on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. But among the Sanskrit manuscripts procured by Colebrooke when in India about a century and a half ago and subsequently presented by him to the India Office Library there are two works by Pakṣadhara viz. *Dravyaviveka* (as it is called by the author himself) and *Nyāyalīlāvatīviveka* A thorough examination of the two books, which it appears were not carefully scrutinized by Colebrooke himself or any other scholar, throws a flood of new light on the history of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature in Mithilā and reveals certain puzzling problems about Pakṣadhara himself The *Dravyaviveka* (*I O*, I, p. 665) contains no varses, devotional or otherwise, at the beginning and the name of its author is nowhere found

1 B N Krishnamurti Sarma in a Vol of Eastern & Indian Studies in honour of F W Thomas p 273 We have slightly amended the verse to suit the metre Sri Sarma reads विरक्षो and नवीनव्यासेन ।

in the body of the book itself, except the cryptic and somewhat misleading colophon at the end (fol. 103a) —इति श्रीवर्द्धमान-टीकायां पक्षधर्या द्रव्यपदार्थः संपूर्णः ॥ The superscripts on the leaves are पाख् (foll. 1-3), पक्षधर (foll. 10, 12-14, 103) and पक्ष° (foll. 15 onwards to the end). On the cover of the last leaf, the title runs किरणावली पक्षधरी. It is a brief but useful commentary on the *Dravyaprakāśa* of Vardhamāna and is once referred to in the *Līlāvatīviveka* (fol. 36b) thus :—एतच्च द्रव्यविवेके सम्यक् प्रपंचितमितोहोपेक्षितम् । We have traced the reference on folio 54 of the present work (read along with *Dravyaprakāśa* of Vardhamāna, B. I. ed. of *Kiraṇāvali*, pp. 204-6) Both the works entitled *Viveka* are therefore from the same pen But the most wonderful thing discovered is that the author frequently refers here to his commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* also entitled the *Viveka* and not the *Āloka* We quote one passage for example —(fol 7a, *vide Kiraṇāvali* B. I ed., p. 10) तथापीति । यद्यपि निषिद्धकर्मासक्तस्येति पूर्वदूषणमिहापि, आचारे च विशेषणं तत्रापि समानं तथापि तस्याभावगर्भतया गौरवकरत्वम् अत्र विधिमुखतया लाघवमिति हृदयेनैतदेव लक्षणं सिद्धान्तितम् । शेषं च प्रत्यक्षविवेके प्रपंचितमितोहोपेक्षितम् ॥ The *Pratyakṣaviveka* is also referred to in foll 60a, 76a, 79b and 101b Besides the *Anumānaviveka* (fol. 14a, 15b, 83a-b), the *Guṇaviveka* is mentioned once (fol. 86b) as well as the *Kusumāñjaliviveka* (fol. 83a — प्रलयानुमानं कुसुमाञ्जलिविवेके द्रष्टव्यम्). There are four more references to a *Viveka* under a single topic (fol. 76a-b) which from the context points to the *Pratyakṣaviveka* The rare authorities cited in the book are listed below alphabetically.

Kandalīkāra (fol. 27b —ननु मीमांसकोऽन्धवादी–स तु द्रव्यमन्धकारं वदति न तु गुणमित्यप्रामाणिकोऽयं पक्ष इत्यतो वादिनं दर्शयति कन्दलीकार इति । *Kusumāñjali-Vardhamāna* (36b).

Jagadguru (q. v. 3b)

Pañcamaṭikā (66a · घटशरावोदंचनादीनामिति *Tātparya*, p. 499).

Bhāskara (82b a passage in *Anumānakhanda*. B. I. ed., p. 633, lines 5-6 is ascribed here to a pre-Gangeśa work, *Bhāskara*).

Līlāvatiprakāśadarpanau (35a —अतएव लीलावतीप्रकाशदर्पणयोर्भावत्वे सति संयोगान्यप्रत्यासत्त्याधेयत्वमित्येव पाठः। vide *Nyāyalīlāvatī*, Chowkh. ed , p. 798).

Vilāsa 90a & 96a identical with *Dravakiranāvalivilāsa* of Divākaropādhyāya (q. v.)

The *Līlāvatīviveka* (*I O*, I, p 668) is a much bigger work and begins with the following prayer-verse —

वन्दे तं देवकीपुत्र पवित्रं पद्मलोचनम्।
उन्मीलति यत सर्वं यत्र सर्वं निमीलति॥

But the name of the author here again is nowhere mentioned in the body of the book which ends (fol. 129a) with the colophon इति श्रीपक्षधरकृतो लीलावतीविवेक परिपूर्णं। There are references to the other works of the author viz. *Pratyaksaviveka* (15a, 20a, 39b, 43a, 86b 88b, 92b, 106b, 114a & 118b), *Anumānaviveka* (18b, 93a, 103b 104b & 115b), *Śabdaviveka* (52b), *Cintāmaniviveka* (45a & 114b) *Dravyaviveka* (36b) and *Gunaviveka* (28b) The list of authorities cited, a much longer one, is given below arranged alphabetically

Ācārādarśa (22a), *Uddyota* (18a) Upādhyāya (93b : identical with Prabhākara) Kandalikāra (39b), *Kalāpapariśista* (66a), *Kiranavalīprakāśa* (28a), *Caturthaprakāśa* (57b), Jateśvara (q v. 100b), *Darpana* (1a, 2a, 6a, 7b & 28b), *Dvitīyaprakāśa* (18a & 53a), *Dvitīyavārtika* (60b), *Nibandha* (103a), *Padamañjarī* (2a), Purusottamadeva (2a), Prabhākaropādhyāya (q. v 2a &c 11 times), *Prameyaprakāśa* (53a), Bhavadeva (21b), *Mahābhāsya* (2a), *Renukakārikā* (22a), Harimiśra (2a)

Two more works of Paksadhara we are told (*S B. S* III. p 136) exist at Varanasi, a *Tippani* other than the *Āloka* on

the *Cintāmani*, which on examination may prove to be a part of the *Viveka*, and a *Śaśadharavyākhyā*. Jayadeva's nephew Vāsudeva, who was a pupil of Jayadeva, refers to another long-lost work of Jayadeva named *Pramānapallava*, which seems to have been an independant treatise rather than a commentary. The passage of Vāsudeva runs —अतएव प्रमाणपल्लवेऽपि अन्योन्याभाव-मर्मैव हेतुरिति सिद्धान्तित गुरुचरणेनापीति। (*Cintāmanitikā*, London Ms, fol 31b)

The identity of this Vivekakāra Paksadhara as distinguished from the Ālokakara is now a great puzzle before us difficult to solve Paksadhara as a surname of the Ālokakāra is well-known and the scribe of the *Dravyaviveka* undoubtedly supports the identity of the two—the Ālokakāra and the Vivekakāra—when he uses the peculiar abbreviation of the surname 'Pākhū'. For, in the family records of Jayadeva we come across exactly this very form of his nickname as current in Mithilā In the Bhauāla branch of the Sodarapura family the *Panji* records —मिश्रगूणेसुतौ मिश्रनाथु-जयदेवापरनामकमहामहोमिश्रपाखू-प्रसिद्धपक्षधरौ। But this identity can only stand on the supposition that Jayadeva wrote two separate commentaries on the *Tattva-cintāmani*, the *Viveka* and the *Āloka* and that while the former is absolutely unknown in Mithilā and Bengal the latter became a standard work throughout India. That an early work of a celebrated scholar, who himself refers to it frequently, would become extinct among his own direct disciples is extremely doubtful. At the beginning of the *Pratyaksaloka*, Jayadeva after saluting Śiva (also invoked in the next part) clearly states —

अधीत्य जयदेवेन हरिमिश्रात् पितृव्यत ।
तत्त्वचिन्तामणेरित्थमालोकोऽय प्रकाश्यते ॥

This normally means that the *Āloka* was his first literary venture and it would almost amount to an absurdity if we suppose, as we must in case the *Viveka* be also ascribed to him, that the

Āloka was composed after finishing a large number of scholia on almost all the standard works of Navyanyāya (including the *Tattvacintāmani*) under the common appellative *Viveka*.

Among the direct pupils of Jayadeva, Bhagīratha (*alias* Megha) covered the same ground as the *Dravyaviveka* and the *Līlāvatīviveka* of Paksadhara He very frequently refers to a previous commentator entitled 'Miśrāḥ' (*Līlāvatī*, Chowkhamba ed , pp. 4, 11, 18 &c. more than 25 times), who, as we have ascertained, was neither Śankara Miśra (who did not comment on Vardhamāna) nor the author of the *Līlāvatīviveka* under discussion One passage of Bhagīratha (p 45) runs — एव चेयं फक्किका किमितीत्यनन्तरमत्र तु तल्लिखन प्रमादादिति *मिश्राणा* लिखनं चिन्त्यम् । We have traced this peculiar solution of an intricate text in Paksadhara also Thus —(fol 13a of the *Līlāvatīviveka*) साम्प्रदायिकास्तु किमितोति फक्किकानन्तरमियं फक्किकेति फक्किका सचार्यं योजयन्ति । This proves that Miśra of Bhagīratha preceded the Vivekakāra, whose arguments against the solution are not reproduced by Bhagīratha It is impossible, therefore, to identify the Vivekakāra with Jayadeva in the present state of our knowledge.

The *Dravyaviveka* was superseded by the much more expansive works of Rucidatta and Bhagīratha Many passages of the *Viveka* are found incorporated in Rucidattā's commentary without acknowledgement. Bhagīratha also seems to have referred to the *Viveka* e.g under the term 'kechit' (*Līlāvatī* Chowk. ed , p. 53 cf. *Līlāvatīviveka* fol 15a) It is therefore, certain that the Vivekakāra preceded both by a length of time and he probably lived about 1450 A D He cannot be identical with Paksadhara Upādhyāya of the Māndara family, who lived about 1400 A. D. Moreover, the author of the *Darpana*, cited in both the *Vivekas* before us, was Vateśvara, the father of Paksadhara Upādhyāya But this filial relation is not at all borne out in the two *Vivekas*

while in the *Tattvanirnaya*, a Smrti work of this Pakṣadhara. (L 1845) his father Vateśvara is praised and saluted eloquently We conjecture that the Vivekakāra is a third Paksadhara of unknown parentage and in our opinion, he is identical with 'Śrimat-Paksadhara' of Amarāvatī who transcribed the *Visnupurāna* in 345 L S. Jayadeva never refers to his nickname 'Paksadhara' in the *Āloka* and it is extremely doutful if a scholar of his eminence and celebrity could find time to transcribe a *Purana*. But hitherto all scholars have taken this Paksadhara of Amarāvatī as identical with Jayadeva (Vidyābhūsana, *l. c*, p 456 fn &c.)

Jayadeva's Professors —As we have stated above Jayadeva distinctly mentions the name of his uncle Harimiśra as his teacher in Nyāya both in the Pratyaksa and the Anumāna parts of the *Āloka*. The *Pañjis* record that 'Mahāmahopādhyāya' Harimiśra was the eldest of the three brothers, but he was not a 'Mahāmahopadhyaya' of great eminence and did not probably compose any work The following quotation in the *Līlāvatīviveka* probably refers to a grammarian of earlier date[1] हरिमिश्रास्तु—कर्मधारय एव समास । न चोत्तमपदपूर्वनिपातापत्ति विशेषणविशेष्यभाव प्रति कामचारात् । यथा हि, उत्तमोत्तमत्वं पुरुषान्तराद्विशेषयति तथा पुरुषत्वमप्युत्तमान्तरादित्याहु ॥ (fol 2a)

Many portions of Jayadeva's *Āloka* were published long ago in the complete edition of the text of Gangeśa, as complements to Mathurānātha's commentary In the *Pratyaksa* part the published portion covers the sections from Samavāyavāda to Nirvikalpavāda (B I ed pp. 640-838) In the *Anumāna* part the whole of the Īśvaravāda as well as the last section of the main part (B I ed, pp 983 97) is adorned with the *Āloka* In the *Śabda* part, where the *Āloka* begins

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1 For Harimiśra the grammarian and a commentator on the *Kāśikā*, *vide* Purusottamadeva s *Paribhāṣāvrtti* &c (Rajshahi, 1946) App, p 128 & Introd p 5

with a salutation to Visnu (न जाने श्रीजाने) instead of Siva as in the first two parts the sections from the Jātiśaktivāda to the end (B I ed, Pt II, pp 556 866) are illuminated by the *Āloka*. It is a pity however that no complete edition of the *Āloka*, the greatest post Gangeśa work of Navyanyāya in Mithila is likely to be published in the near future

But there is almost an universal tradition in Mithilā and Bengal that Jayadeva was a pupil of the celebrated Yajñapati Upādhyāya For instance we find in the *Śabdakalpadruma* (Pt II 1749 Śaka p 1791) यज्ञपत्युपाध्यायच्छात्र पक्षधरमिश्रश्चिन्तामण्या-लोककार । ("न्याय" शब्दे) This tradition is substantially corroborated by Jayadeva himself Any one who will take the pains of comparing the works of Yajñapati and Jayadeva will be struck by the interesting fact that Jayadeva has controverted the views of Yajñapati at every step. In one such passage cited below, Jayadeva distinctly refers to Yajñapati as Guru' Commenting on the text of Gangeśa beginning with the word यद्धर्मावच्छेदेन (*Anumāna*, Upādhisiddhānta, B I ed. p 436) Jayadeva writes (*Anumānāloka*, A S Ms III A 25 fol 56a) —यथा च व्यजनत्वेऽतिप्रसक्तिर्न दोषाय तथोक्तम्। एव सति तत्रातिप्रसङ्गमाशक्य तन्निरासप्रयासगौरव च गुरूणा किमर्थ-मिति न जानीम । The whole controversy has been elaborately treated by Yajñapati's son Narahari (foll 57-66 of Tanjore Ms No 6268) Moreover, Padmanābha Miśra while explaining the above passage of Jayadeva clearly writes in the *Pksadharoddhāra* (Poona Ms. No 785 of 1887 91, fol 54b) – एवमिति। व्यञ्जनवत्त्वेऽतिप्रसङ्गभङ्गाय यज्ञपत्युपाध्यायैर्यद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसाध्यव्यापकता तद्धर्मावच्छिन्नसाधनाव्यापकतेति लक्षणार्थो निरुक्तो न चैव तत्र याति (*vide* Narahari's *Dūsanoddhāra*, fol 60)

Mithila s glory in Navyanyāya —This conflict between the professor and the pupil marked the most glorious period of Navyanyāya studies in Mithilā and its echo reached the farthest corners of the country The whole intelligentia, so to

speak, of Mithilā and Bengal was divided into two rival camps. Yajñapati's son Narahari himself a direct pupil of Jayadeva, gave a spirited reply to all the points of controversy raised by his teacher and defended his father's views Vāsudeva, a nephew and pupil of Jayadeva, defended his uncle against the attacks of Narahari and many others of the rival camp Padmanābha Miśra, belonging to a Bengali family settled at Varanasi and adorning various royal courts of North India, wrote a commentary on the *Āloka* named *Paksadharoddhāra* wherein he met the arguments of Narahari and others. Padmanābha's date falls in the latter half of the 16th century A D. The healthy controversy, therefore raged in Mithila and the adjecent tracts for well over a century It is a curious and significant fact that with the cessation of this controversy Mithilā's literary glory practically came to an end

Studies in Pratyaksa and Anumāna—The above controversy was confined to the first two parts of Gangeśa's work and in consequence, studies on the earlier classics of Udayana, Śrivallabha and Vardhamāna considerably declined from this period An intensive and extraordinary switch on Gangeśa henceforth assumed proportions which have no parallel in the literary history of the world By Nature's laws the highest pitch, reached specially in Bengal on portions of the *Anumāna* part alone, marked after a certain period of lull a sharp decline that swept out the very foundations of Navyanyāya including the solid work of Jayadeva

Jayadeva's family still survives in Mithilā He belonged to one of the premier Śrotriya families of Mithilā named Sodarapura of Śāndilya *gotra.* Varāhanātha, 10th (or 11th) in descent from the first ancestor Halāyudha, settled in the village Bhauāla, after which this branch of the family came to be known He was Jayadeva's grandfather. According to tradition Jayadeva lived in the village named Yamasama. He

had a son named Mahāmahopādhyāya Mādhava. There is evidence that this worthy son of Jayadeva wrote in defence of his father against the arguments of Narahari The following passage in the *Manitīkā* of Jayadeva's nephew Vāsudeva refers to the long-lost work of Jayadeva's son. In the section on Kevalānvayī (B. I ed., p 566) Jayadeva's views (fol 93a) are refuted by Narahari (fol. 83b) Vāsudeva begins his long note here thus —(fol. 58a) ननु तदा रूपाभाववति वायौ रूपसमवायो न स्यादभावाभावरूपत्वात्तस्य। न चेष्टापत्तिः स्पर्शसमवायोऽपि तदा स्यादेकत्वादिति चेत्—(these are Narahari's words in a nut shell) न, तत्र विशेषण-तावच्छिन्नरूपाभावसद्भावात् रूपविशेषणता च नास्त्येव। इयान् परं विशेष — सा विशेषणता वायुतैवारमन्मते। तन्मते समवायेन फलतो न कश्चिद्विशेष इति। सोऽयं *पितृवचनानवबोधनिबन्धनो* व्यामोह । इदं तु चिन्त्यते।

This proves that Mādhava, son of Paksadhara, was senior to Vāsudeva. This is exactly corroborated in the family records. Gāngu of the Māndara family had five daughters. Mādhava (son of 'Pākhū') married the third daughter named Gaurī, while Vāsudeva married the daughter of the second daughter Jayamatī[1].

Date of Jayadeva It can now be confidently asserted that all evidences, internal and external, point to the latter half of the 15th century A. D. as Jayadeva's period of activity and the *Āloka* was written sometime between 1465-75 A. D. Those who speculated on his date and identity without examining his work and without consulting a single person of Mithilā, where Pākhū's name is a house hold word, naturally made astounding statements Keith, for instance, took Jayadeva to be 'no doubt' identical with the author of the *Prasannarāghava* against a volume of evidence to the contrary (*I. O.*, II, p. 560). It

1 *Vide* Prof. R. Jha's illuminating paper on Kaviraja Bhanudatta in the Patna University Journal, p 12 of offprint containing the genealogical table.

need hardly be stated that Jayadeva, son of Mahādeva of the Kaundinya *gotra* and with a title Pīyūsavarsa is quite a different person, who flourished two centuries before the Ālokakara Moreover, the *gotra* Kaundinya is of a very inferior rank among Maithila Brāhmanas Similarly the long-drawn controversy about the date of a copy of the *Pratyaksāloka* (L. 1976)—whether it was 159 L S. or 1509 Śaka—is quite meaningless There should not have been any question but that it is 1509 Śaka. Jayadeva must have survived till about 1500 A D when he gave lessons to the illustrious Bhagīratha, one of his last pupils. On the other hand he was a generation later than Śaṅkara Miśra who belonged to the same family and was his uncle (पितृव्य) in relation.

Jayadeva's style The formidable and intricate style of Navyanyāya works which first took shape from the pen of Gaṅgeśa and some of his predecessors, further developed in the hands of Jayadeva, whose manner of arguing a point became the delight of all serious and hard scholars Methodology now became the highway of almost all these scholars who cared very little, as time went on, for the original doctrines and their sources Gaṅgeśa Jayadeva or Śiromani with whom this intricate style culminated by joining hands with a formidable conciseness, rarely name their sources and their works are almost completely wanting in historical materials. The only specific names we could trace in the *Āloka* are Vatseśvara, author of the (*Mīmānsā*) *Mahārnava*, *Makaranda* (a lost commentary on the *Kusumāñjali*) and the *Darpana* in the *Pratyaksa* part and *Bhāskara* and a very rare name *Pramānapārāyana* (fol. 131b) in the *Anumāna* part

Jayadeva's pupils There was perhaps no scholar in Mithilā and Bengal who could claim so many and such a galaxy of distinguished pupils as Jayadeva had in his seminary. He gave lessons to Narahari, the son of his professor, to Mādhava,

his own son, to his nephew Vāsudeva, to Sucikara Upādhyāya (according to tradition), to the famous scholiast Rucidatta (who gives him the highest literary title known in India 'Jagadguru') and last of all to the great prodigy Bhagīratha. We should state here that according to the latest evidence neither Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma nor his pupil Śiromani of Bengal ever came to Mithilā for studies (*vide Vange Navyanyāyacarcā*, pp 36 37 & 40). Śiromani's pupilage under Jayadeva is therefore a myth.

Jayadeva's popularity in Bengal We heard a curious tradition in Mithilā, though not widely current there, that Jayadeva left Mithilā in his old age and took shelter in Bengal. This tradition is without foundation, but it is substantially correct in a cultural sense Jayadeva's school emerged out of his great conflict with Yajñapati, whose adherents were ultimately routed at the hands of Jayadeva's followers. No author, except perhaps Śiromani, could claim like Jayadeva a band of scholars forming in his very life time a separate school on the basis of his work, which they adorned with regular commentaries One of his earliest commentators was Jaleśvara Vāhinīpati, a son of Jayadeva's contemporary Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, he wrote a *Śabdālokodyota* (*Vange Navyanyāyacarcā*, p 43) probably in the lifetime of the Ālokakāra. His preference for the *Āloka* over his own father's commentary the *Parīksa* (*ib.*, pp 37-41) is an eloquent tribute to the spectacular success of Jayadeva. This popularity of Jayadeva among Bengali scholars is a fact of supreme importance It is now completely forgotten that all the scholars of Navadvīpa who commented on Śiromani almost invariably commented on Jayadeva also This continued for about two centuries and what is a marvellous fact, the *Āloka* survived as a text book at Navadvīpa for over a century after it practically disappeared in Mithilā itself For, in the 17th century Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya (1604-1709 A. D.) the last great scholiast of Bengal commented on all the three parts of the

Aloka (*ib.*, pp. 178-79). At Varanasi the Bengali scholars Rudra Nyāyavācaspati, Raghudeva Nyāyālaṅkāra and Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana of the same century commented on the *Āloka*. We have already stated that Padmanābha of Bengal origin commented on the *Āloka*, but not on Siromaṇi. We refrain from mentioning all the earlier names from (Siromaṇi's fellow-mate) Haridāsa Nyāyālaṅkāra onwards, full accounts of whom are given in our Bengali work.

In South India only the renowned scholar Annam Bhaṭṭa is known to have witten a commentary named *Siddāñjana* on the *Āloka* (R 1536-37) A more recent and less-known scholar named Agnihotra Bhaṭṭa wrote a *Sphūrti* on the *Āloka*, of which parts of the Pratyakṣa and Anumāna sections exist in manuscripts at Tanjore (Nos. 6095-97). It is however a curious fact that Jayadeva's pupil Rucidatta became more popular in South India His *Cintāmaṇiprakāśa* much more than the *Āloka* succeeded in founding a sort of a sub-school of Navyanyāya and many distinguished scholars wrote sub-commentaries on it.

Jayadeva is described by his pupil Bhagīratha as a 'Paṇḍita-kavi' i e he was both a scholar and a poet like his namesake who wrote the *Candrāloka* and the *Prasannarāghava* and with whom he is mostly confused Whether any poem can be ascribed to him should be a matter of investigation. His poetic talents are also expressed in the following obituary verse about him which was discovered by us on the cover of the Ms. of Pragalbha's *Upamānasaṅgraha* preserved in the Asiatic Society (No. 1752 dated 1643 V. S.) It is a magnificent panegyric of the great scholar evidently from the pen of his direct pupils :

कुन्दावदातयशसा जगदेव लब्धं
साध्वीपथेन कवितापि गता नताङ्गी ।

स्वर्लोकभागिनि गुरौ जयदेवमिश्रे
रे तर्क कर्कशा तवैव न कोऽपि पन्था. ॥

TVANTOPĀDHYĀYA The extra ordinary eminance of Jayadeva *alias* Pakṣadhara put to shade all the previous scholiasts of Gaṅgeśa, whose commentaries became extinct in no time In our attempt to rescue the names of some of these long forgotten scholars we came accross the extremely peculiar name of Tvantopādhyāya which was completely lost. Some years ago we thoroughly examined the Ms copy of the *Anumānakhanda* of a commentary named *Paksadharoddhāra* (B O R. I. Ms. No 735 of 1887 91 *vide* fol 39b for the actual name of the commentary) In this commentary Padmanābha wrote learned discourses on favourite topics of Navyanyāya and one of them is a long note on the (Vyāpti—) Siddhāntalaksana (fol. 22a 26a) Towards the end (fol 25b) we come across the following passage — तथापि वह्निघटोभयवानसौ धूमादित्यत्रातिव्याप्तिं वारयितुं यदवच्छिन्नाधिकरणत्वावच्छेदेन साध्यसामानाधिकरण्यस्यावश्यं वक्तव्यतया पूर्वप्रतीकवैयर्थ्यस्य त्वन्त-मते दूषणत्वादिति विचारसंक्षेप' । (The very unusual name found in the manuscript here looks like 'Tkanta', altogether a doubtful reading) Our suspicion, that the name of one of the earliest commentators of the *Tattvacintāmani* has been preserved in this passage, turned into a conviction in a most unexpected manner. Sometimes ago we went to Triveṇī (in the Hooghly district of Bengal) to examine what remained of the library of Jagannātha Tarakapañcānana (1694-1807 A. D.) the greatest scholar of his age in Bengal A bundle of stray leaves was all that we could lay our hands upon, from which we recovered a very old copy in corypha leaves of Aniruddha's *Pitṛdayitā*. A stray palm leaf, torn at both ends was found in this copy containing a most interesting book list. We reproduce the whole of it below as a piece of direct evidence on the courses of advanced studies in Bengal in the middle of the 16th century.

It is dated 'Sam 430, 23 Śrāvaṇa' evidently referring to the Lakṣmaṇa era which was adopted by the Nadia scholars from Mithilā. The date falls in the 5th decade of the 16th century A.D. The superscript reads 'Tālıka-pustaka-bandha(ka) Nadia' (i.e., a list of books bartered at Nadia, the popular name of the city of Navadvīpa):

(Column 1) *Kāvyaprakāśa*, *Pūrvakhaṇḍana*, *Anumāna*-Miśra, *Pratyakṣa-Kaṇṭako(ddhā)ra*, *Bauddhādhıkāra* (5). (Column 2) *Śabdakhaṇḍa*, *Tattvāloka*, *Pratyakṣa*-Miśra, *Vyavahā(ra)cintāmaṇi*, *Bauddhādhikāra*-Śaṅkaramiśra (5). (Column 3) *Līlāvatyupāya* (i. e. *Līlāvatīprakāśa* of Vardhamāna). *Tat-Jalada*. (i. e. comm. on-do-(the above) by Bhagīratha whose surname was 'Megha', and 'Jalada' is again a synonym of Megha), *Kusumāñjalyupāya*, *Guṇa* (i. e. the portion of Udayana's *Kiranāvalī* on *Guṇa*, *Śrāddhakalpa* (5). (Column 4) *Dravyopāya* (i. e. Vardhamāna's comm. on the *Dravya* part of *Kiraṇāvalī*), *Kusumāñjali-Jalada*, *Śabda-Tvanta*, *Guṇa-Jalada* (4). (Column 5, torn) *Guṇopā(ya)*, *Śabda-Gopī(nātha)*, *Ācārā(darśa)*, *Manu*, *Dra(vya?)* (5).

The list is a good evidence that the Bengali scholars at that time assiduously studied all up-to-date Maithila works, specially on Navyanyāya. The mention of *Pratyakṣakaṇṭakoddhāra* by Madhusūdana Ṭhakkura is important as indicating the later limit in the date of its composition. The mention of '*Śabda*-Tvanta' (the reading is quite clear and beyond any doubt) is certainly the most valuable feature of the list. It proves that the long-forgotten Maithila scholar Tvanta wrote a commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, of which the last part (*Śabda*-khaṇḍa) was procured for the private library of Nadia. Padmanābha's reference is to the second part of the same commentary. That he commented also on the first part of Gaṅgeśa's work is proved by the following quotation traced by us in a unique copy of the *Pratyakṣālokaprasāraṇī* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma, one of the earliest scholars of Nadia

who lived in the second quarter of the 16th century A. D. (*vide* Krsnadāsa's full account in our Bengali work *Vañge Navyanyāyacarcā*, pp. 114-23)

अत्र त्वन्तोपाध्याया —ननु अनुमानं प्रवर्तकं वा परिशेषानुमानविशेषणीभूत-सफलत्वसाधकं वा । आद्ये परिशेषानुमानविशेषानुमानविशेष्यसाधकस्यैव प्रक्र(त)-त्वात् कृविसाध्यत्वपक्षेत्यापातत । द्वितीये एतावतारम्भस्य व्यर्थत्वात् मङ्गलं सफलं (स)मासिफलकं समाप्त्यन्याफलकत्वे सति सफलत्वादित्यस्यैव सम्यक्त्वात् इवि दूषणमाहु' । (fol. 7a of a dilapidated Ms in our possission: beginning of Mangalavāda, B I ed., p 9). At the present state of our knowledge this Tvantopādhyāya happens to be the earliest known commentator on Gangeśa's *Tattvacintāmani*, for he preceded both Jayadeva Miśra (Paksadhara) and Śankara Miśra as we shall presently see

Tvantopādhyāya's commentary on the Kusumāñjali named Makaranda. The Kārikās of *Kusumāñjali* were commented upon, among others, by Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma and this '*Rāmabhadri*' was extensively studied in the Nyāya seminaries of Bengal till the last century. This Rāmabhadra was a son of the famous Jānakīnātha Bhattācārya Cūdāmani, author of the *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjari* He mentioned his father's name in most of his works, e g , (I) in the beginning of the *Nyāya-rahasya*, श्रीभट्टाचार्यचूडामणितनय इद रामभद्रस्तनोति. This commentary on the *Nyāyasūtras* goes to the end of Chapter IV only, where the colophon runs—इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीभट्टाचार्यचूडामणितनयश्रीभट्टाचार्य-सार्वभौम-रामभद्रविनिर्मिते न्यायरहस्ये चतुर्थोऽध्याय (fol 120b of Nyāya-Vaiśesika manuscript. No 9 of the *Sarasvatī-Bhavana*, Benares. The commentary on chapter V proves on examination to be a separate work named *Ānvīksikītattvavivarana* by Rāmabhadra's father Bhattācārya Cūdāmani himself (*Vide Sāhitya Parisat-Patrikā*, Vol. 51, pp. 69-70) (2) In the beginning of the *Gunarahasya* —

चूडामणेस्तार्किकाणां पुत्रैर्गुणरहस्यकम् ।
रामभद्रसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्यैर्विधीयते ॥
(v. 2, Ms in our possession)

(3) In the beginning of a small work on Smṛti named *Samaya-rahasya* —

हरिहरचरणौ पितरं तार्किकचूडामणिं नत्वा ।
क्रियते समयरहस्यं श्राद्धानां सार्वभौमेन ॥

(Ms. in our possession)

(4-5) In a well known verse in the beginning of Rāmabhadra's *Padārthatattvaṭīkā*(Benares Ed , p. 81) and *Nañvādaṭīkā* *R A S.B* Ms. No III G. 148, a unique copy dated 1957 Śaka) -

तातस्य तर्कसरसीरुहकाननेषु, चूडामणेर्दिनमणेश्चरणौ प्रणम्य ।
श्रीरामभद्रसुकृती कृतिना हिताय, लीलावशात् किमपि कौतुकमातनोति ॥

All doubts about the identity of Rāmabhadra and his father should now be finally dissolved (cf. I.H Q , XX, pp. 190-92). The strange introductory verses found in the beginning of Rāmabhadra's *Kusumāñjalikārikāvyākhya* in all available Ms. copies—and we have examined scores of them—which created a baffling problem before two generations of scholars, must now be regarded as the composition of some scholar other than Rāmabhadra The first verse of benediction (आमोदैः परितोषिताः) has been traced in the *Āmoda*, a commentary on the whole of *Kusumāñjali* (and not on the Kārikās alone) by the famous Saṅkara Miśra of Mithilā, whose parents are again unmistakeably invoked in the second verse —

भवानीभवनाथाभ्या पितृभ्या प्रणमाम्यहम् ।
यत्प्रसादादिदं शास्त्रं करस्थीरोपमं कृतम् ॥

Saṅkara has referred to his father Bhavanātha's instructions in many of his works, e g., *Vādivinoda*, *Līlāvatīkanthābharana* and *Upaskāra*. It was MM. Dr Gopīnātha Kavirāja who first discovered a superscript in a Ms. copy of the '*Rāmabhadrī*' (fol. 6a, इत्यन्तं शंकरमिश्रकृतं ततः सार्वभौमीयम्), which clearly stated that the first 4 or 5 leaves of the book were of Śaṅkara Miśra's composition and the rest Sārvabhauma's. (*Kusumāñjalibodhanī*, *S. B. Text*, Introd., pp, II-III f. n) The '*Rāmabhadrī*', has

been published in the *'Āśutosa Sanskrit Series'* of the Calcutta University (edited by Prof N C Vedāntatīrtha) There is indelible evidence in the commentary itself that it is a medley of two different compositions The fourth kārikā ('sāpeksatvāt.. ') is introduced *twice* in two different places, once on p 11 (falling under Śankara Miśra's portion of the commentary) thus —तत्र चार्वाकस्येदमाकूत, न हि कारणत्व प्रत्यक्षं प्रमाण दण्डादौ दृष्टेऽपि तत्र सन्देहात् कथमेवमत आह—*सापेक्षत्वादिति* । It should be noticed that the prose line immediately preceding the kārikā is explained in this portion On pp 13-14 again we read, तत्र चार्वाकस्याय मात्र कार्यकारणभावे न तावत् प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण.. कारणताया सभावनयैव तदुपपत्तेरत्राह—*सापेक्षत्वाद्* । Here the explanation of the prose line is omitted and the rest of the earlier gloss is presented in a more elaborate and improved language We should mention that this twice repeated explanation is found in all the Ms copies we have examined including the two in our own possession That the earlier part was from the pen of Sankara Miśra is directly stated in three more manuscripts we have examined. We are in possession of a very old copy where it is written distinctly in the margin of the front page, 'Sankaramiśrasya *Kusumāñjali-vyākhyā*' and on fol. 5a after लिंगादेरभावादिति the portion अत आह सापेक्षत्वादिति is cancelled by smearing yellow pigment upon which it is written clearly इत्यन्ता श्रीमच्छङ्करमिश्रकृता कुसुमाञ्जलिकारिकाव्याख्या । अतःपर सार्वभौमीया । In the ancestral library of the late Pandita Daksinācarana Smṛtitīrtha of Calcutta we found another copy where it is written (fol. 6a) लिंगादेरभावात् इत्यन्त शङ्करमिश्रीय तत सार्वभौमीयम् । Yet another copy was examined by us in a village Sātgeche in the Burdwan district among the remnants of a magnificent library which belonged to (Rāma) Dulāla Tarkavāgīśa (1731-1815 A D.) one of the greatest Naiyāyikas of Bengal, whose *'Patrikās'* on Navyanyāya became popular at one time throughout India. On fol. 5a it is written, सापेक्षत्वादिति । इति शङ्करमिश्रकृत समाप्तं अतःपर सार्वभौमीयम् । This earlier portion, however, is not identical with the extant *Āmoda* commentary of

Sankara. Why this is so and what became of the first part of Rāmabhadra's own commentary are not known and are likely to remain an unsolved mystery.

The third verse in the beginning of Śaṅkara Miśra's part of the *Rāmabhadrī* is as follows —

मकरन्दे प्रकाशे या व्याख्या परिमलेऽथवा ।
ततोधिका पितुर्व्याख्यामाख्यातुमयमुद्यम. ॥

Of the three earlier commentaries on the *Kusumāñjali* mentioned in this important verse the *Prakāśa* by Vardhamāna is long available in print. The '*Parimala*' is by Divākaropādhyāya and a direct commentary on the text.

Who was the author of the *Makaranda*, mentioned in this list by Śankara Miśra? Not certainly Rucidatta, the author of the sub-commentary *Prakāśamakaranda*, who as a direct pupil of Jayadeva Miśra (Paksadhara) was at least one generation later than Sankara Miśra In fact this *Makaranda* is an earlier commentary directly on the *Kusumāñjali* and we have traced a citation from it in the *Pratyaksāloka* of Jayadeva (towards the end of 'Prāmānyavāda') —अतएव मकरन्दे अनभ्यासदशेति न पक्षविशेषणतया व्याख्यातमिति । (fol 28a of a very old copy with us). Jayadeva was not certainly referring here approvingly by name to any work of his own pupil Rucidatta In fact a comparison with the corresponding passage in Rucidatta (St. II, p. 7) proves that the view cited by Jayadeva does not belong to Rucidatta So the *Makaranda* happens to be a long-lost commentary on the *Kusumāñjali*. Fortunately about two years ago we succeded in getting hold of the above mentioned copy of the '*Rāmabhadrī*' in the collection of Dulāla Tarkavāgīśa, where an inquisitive copyist wrote down the following invaluable marginal notes upon the third verse cited above

(1) *Makarande*—"Tvantopādhyāya—krta-śāstre"
(2) *Prakāśe*—"Vardhamānopādhyāya-kṛ(ta- ? gra-)nthe"
(3) *Parimale*—"Granthaviśeṣe".

Date of Tvantopādhyāya? Śaṅkara Miśra in the above list of previous commentators has omitted other famous names, notably the *Bodhani* of Varadarāja, who was a Kasmirian. It may be presumed that he preferred to confine himself to Maithila works only. As Vardhamāna came after Divākara, we are of opinion that Śaṅkara drew up the above list in an ascending order of chronology. In other words, Tvantopādhyāya came after Vardhamāna, though all three preceded Śaṅkara's father Bhavanātha as the words of Śaṅkara seem to imply. Now Śaṅkara's father and teacher Bhavanātha lived about 1400 A. D. and the date of composition of the two works of Tvantopādhyāya—*Maṇiṭīkā* and *Makaranda*—may be placed within 1375-1400 A.D. We can hail the latter's name, therefore, as the earliest commentator of Gaṅgeśa so far discovered. We should state here that Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma's quotation from Tvantopādhyāya, reproduced above, is followed by two other quotations from unnamed scholiasts, who evidently came after Tvantopādhyāya.

ŚAṄKARA MIŚRA : is a name to conjure with in Mithilā. He was a poet (in *Paṇḍitavijaya* and *Rasārṇava*), a dramatist (in *Gaurī-Digambara*-Prahasana), a Smṛti writer and above all a foremost Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika scholar. He belonged to a most distinguished Śrotriya family of Mithilā and maintained two large seminaries in his celebrated homestead which is a place of pilgrimage in Mithilā. We shall confine ourselves in this account to his philosophical works only. The late M. M. Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jha published in 1915 an edition of his *Vādivinoda* with an introduction containing a most interesting account of the great scholar of extra-ordinary talents. He confronted the reigning monarch (probably the famous Śivasiṁha) when barely five years old with the extempore verse, still recited by Maithila students in wonder and worship :—

बालोऽहं जगदानन्द ! न मे बाला सरस्वती।
अपूर्णे पंचमे वर्षे वर्णयामि जगत्त्रयम्॥

this royal visit fetched him money which by promise went to the drummer woman, whose drum sounded by itself at the time of Śankara's birth! She dug a tank with the money, which still goes by her name in the vicinity of Śankara's house. There is a copy of the *Harivamśa* preserved in his house which was writen by his students in one night A copy of the *Gītāṭīkā* from his house ends —

अहो सर्षपसाम्राज्यमेतज्जानीव सज्जना ।
यामयुग्मेन यत्रासीद्दित्पत्रशतद्वयम् ॥

These are some of the wonderful relics still bearing testimony to the halo that strode over Mithilā 500 years ago.

Nyāya Vaiśesika works of Śankara In the first flash of his great genius Śankara tackled all the hard classics of Navya-nyāya without exception and wrote commentaries on each of them His earliest work in this line seems to be (1) the *Manimayūkha* radiating on the work of Gangeśa It has been mentioned by him in most of his works, e g in the *Vādivinoda* (p 59), *Kaṇādarahasya* (p 103), *Līlāvatīkanthabharana* (p 73), *Upaskāra* (pp 154, 161 189, 341, 351 & 405) and the *Ātmatattvavivekakalpalatā* (B I ed, p 534) He seems to have regarded it himself as one of his best contributions But the fact remains that in the heyday of Navya-nyāya studies over the work of Gangeśa under Yajñapati and his disciple Jayadeva the *Mayūkha* of Sankara practically lost all its lustre As far as we are aware none of the eminent Nvyanyāya authorities of Mithilā and Bengal from Yajñapati downwards ever took any notice of the *Maṇiṭīkā* of Śankara, whose name is quite unknown in the main group of Navya-nyāya led by Gangeśa. Why it is so is really a great mistery. Uptill now only one single copy of the last part of Śankara's *Mayūkha* has been discovered proving that its circulation was very much limited This unique copy is now preserved in Jammu, Kasmira beyond the reach of scholars. It is complete in

55 folios only (Stein's *Jammu Cat.*, p. 144, Ms. No. 1537). Fortunately Stein realising the great importance of the copy has given extracts from the beginning and end (p. 332). We reproduce them below.

Begins : तातादधीत्याखिलतन्त्रसारं महार्णवादीन् बहुशो निरूप्य ।
श्रीशंकरेणार्चितशंकरेण वितन्यते शब्दमणेर्मयूखः ॥

Ends : चित्रा यद्भवनाथेन व्याहृतं तदिहाखिलं (? लिखम्) ।
व्याख्यानगुणदोषाभ्यां स(म्ब)न्धो मत्पितुर्न मे ॥१
चिन्तामणेरिह गभीरतरेऽम्बुराशा-
वाशापि कस्य तरणाय गतत्रपस्य ।
तीर्णो मया परमयं भवनाथसूक्ति-
पोताधिरोहणतिरस्कृतसाध्वसेन ॥२
न्यायार्णवसहाकृष्टो मणिरन्यस्य दुर्लभः ।
वयं तु पोतवणिजो निजं मन्यामहे मणिम् ॥३

इति महामहोपाध्याय-सन्मिश्रश्रीभवनाथात्मजेन श्रीशंकरेण कृतोऽयं चिन्तामणिमयूखः समाप्तः ॥

There are certain revealing features even in the small extracts. In the post-colophon statement the titles (M. M. and Sanmiśra) are attached to Bhavanātha alone, who was evidently still alive, and none to Śaṅkara, confirming our suggestion that this was his first work. In the opening verse Śaṅkara betrays his predilection for a book named Mahārṇava ; it was *Mīmāṅsāmahārṇava* by Vateśvara belonging to the school of Prabhākara. This Prabhākara influence upon him might be one of the reasons for his unpopularity in the Gaṅgeśa group, though, pathetically, he claimed the *Maṇi* as his own. In the first verse at the end Śaṅkara absolves himself curiously from both merits and demerits of his work, which attach only to his father and not to him ; his task was only to write down what his father said ! This sentiment is expressed by Śaṅkara in most of his subsequent works (*vide Līlāvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, the lacuna in the last verse should be filled up accordingly and *Ātmatattvavivekakalpalatā* at the end).

(2) *Trisūtrīnibandhavyākhyā* : a commentary directly on the first portion of Udayana's *Pariśuddhi* which was popularly known as *Nibandha.* A single copy of this extremely rare book of Śaṅkara was discovered by H. P. Śāstrī at Dinajpur (*Notices*, III, No. 136). It was complete in 123 folios written in the Bengali script Śankara admits at the commencement that he endeavours only to construe the text, which was adorned already with three illuminating commentaries viz. *Prakāśa* (of Vardhamāna), *Darpana* (of Vateśvara) and *Uddyota* (of Divākara). The book is practically lost. Śankara has not referred to it in any of his works

(3) *Kiranāvalīnirukti prakāśa* this also seems from the name itself to be an analysis of the great treatise of Udayana. It is referred to only once in the *Kanādarahasya* (p. 177) It also remains yet to be discovered

(4) *Bhedaprakāśa* published fortunately in the Sarasvatī-Bhavana Texts (under the name of *Bhedaratna* 1933 pp. 73 from a Ms dated 1579 V. S) It is a bold refutation of Vedāntic Monism from the standpoint of the stout dualism of the Nyāya. In striking contrast with Vācaspati s *Khandanoddhāra*, which lost itself so to speak on dialectic skill without grappling with the fundamental doctrines Śankara struck at the very root of the controversy with an array of both Vedic texts and arguments. It was for this reason selected as the target in preference to Vācaspati's work by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who as the leader of the Śaṅkarite saints of Varanasi, wrote a full refutation in the *Advaitaratnaraksanam* in a violent and most unsaintly language. There is an imaginary conversation towards the end of the latter book where Śankara is addressed as an aged bull (वृद्धोक्ष) And Śankara's mild protest also is recorded The *Bhedaprakāśa* was one of Śankara's earliest works. It is mentioned already in the *Vādivinoda* (p. 44). Hall (*Index*, p. 85) examined a copy at Varanasi and the very same

copy is now preserved at Jammu (Stein's *Jammu Cat.*, 1894, pp. 327-28). The date of transcript is 1519 V. S. Caitra-Pūrṇimā, Tuesday (corresponding correctly to March 16, 1462 A.D.) and it was copied at Kāśī, in the lifetime of Śaṅkara.

(5) *Khaṇḍanaṭīkā* : This was completely published from Varanasi as early as 1888 A. D. (edited by Bhāgavatācārya, pp. 732) and made Śaṅkara's name well-known throughout the learned world. It was written after the *Bhedaprakāśa* which is twice cited (pp. 61 & 124 : विप्रपञ्चितश्चायमुद्धारो भेदप्रकाशे) and before the *Vādivinoda* probably. Like most of his works Śaṅkara wrote this after taking 'illuminating' lessons from his father, who again was indebted to his elder brother Jīvanātha (not Jayanātha). The concluding verse as printed should be emended slightly thus :

स्वभ्रातुर्जीवनाथस्य व्याख्यामाख्यातवान् यतः ।
मत्पिता भवनाथो या तामिहालिखमुज्ज्वलाम् ॥ (p. 732)

There is an interesting colophon at the end of the section on Anupalabdhi (p. 415) :—

व्याख्यानमिदमस्माकं यथा पितृवचस्तथा ।
व्याख्यानगुणदोषाभ्यां संबन्धो मत्पितुर्न मे ॥

The next section begins with another interesting verse :

या सूक्तिर्भवनाथवक्त्रकमलादुद्गत्वरी तत्कृतं
सौभाग्यं प्रतिपद्य शुद्धमतिभिः श्लाघापदं लम्भिता ।
न्यस्ता सज्जनमानसे विजयतामापुष्पवन्तोदयं
ग्रन्थग्रन्थिविमोचनाय रचना वाचामियं शाङ्करी ॥

It is a magnificent expression of his own talents coupled with a sense of rare filial obligation. Śaṅkara evidently regarded this commentary as one of his masterpieces and the learned world seems to have endorsed it by accepting it as Śaṅkara's best work. In the very life time of Śaṅkara a superior scholar Pragalbhācārya, who it should be noted, was not a Maithila, regar-

ded it as an authoritative work, upon which his own commentary on the *Khaṇḍana* was based. For, Pragalbha clearly states at the beginning of his commentary, *Khandanadarpaṇa* श्रीमच्छङ्करवर्द्धमानरचितोपायान् विलोड्यापि च (verse 4 *Khandana* with 5 commentaries Chowkh ed., p. 4) Śaṅkara appears in a dual role in this undertaking. In the first place he attempted to explain the views of Śrīharṣa faithfully from the standpoint of the Vedānta, but in many places (*vide* pp. 93-124) he attempted equally to meet the arguments of Śrīharsa from the standpoint of dualism. Everywhere, however, he marvellously concluded with a compromise on behalf of Śrīharsa and the phrases he used are quite amusing. Such are —

तथापि "आपाततो यदिदमद्वयवादिनोनाम्" इत्यादावेव तात्पर्यम् (p 95).
तथापि "स्वप्रकाशसिद्धमेव ब्रह्माद्वैतम्" इति भाव. । (p. 98).
तथापि "तत्स्वप्रकाशपरमार्थचिदेव भूत्वा" इत्यत्र तात्पर्यम् । (p. 103).
तथापि "स्वप्रकाशेऽद्वैते तात्पर्यम्" । (p 109).

Śaṅkara's comments must have raised protests from staunch followers of the Vedānta. One of them was Raghunātha (Vidyālankāra) author of the *Bhūṣāmaṇi*, the longest commentary on the *Khandana*. We have cited elsewhere Sārvabhauma's retort as recorded by Raghunātha, who was his grand-pupil. The passage of Saṅkara exactly occurs in the *Khaṇḍanaṭīkā* (p 95) In one place Śaṅkara answers Śrīharṣa in a masterly way by twisting a verse of the latter —

सुदूरधावनाश्रान्ता बाधबुद्धिपरम्परा-
विनिवृत्ताद्वयाम्नायैः पार्ष्णिग्राहैर्न जीयते ॥ (p. 98)

Raghunātha's criticism here, quoted in the footnote, ends with a most interesting remark, throwing a side-light on Śaṅkara's popularity among his contemporaries as a poet rather than a scholar.

इत्यलं काव्यरचनाकुशलानां तेनैव स्वशिष्यानामोदयतां खण्डनकथया ।

There is a very old copy of Saṅkara's *Khaṇḍanaṭīkā*, preserved in the Sarasvatī-Bhavana, Varanasi (Ms. No. 134 of the Dhuṇḍhirāja collection). The post-colophon runs :

शुभमस्तु पुस्तकस्य कर्तुर्लेखकस्य च।
गौड राज्यमनुत्तमं सुविदितं यत्रास्ति पूगोच्चयः
भृङ्गारामृतवापिकापुरस्तय × × × सत्प्रीतये।
भूपो यत्र सुरेश्वरस्य सदृशो विप्रा गुरुस्पर्द्धिन-
स्तत्रोत्पन्न इमामसौ समलिखत् श्रीवासुदेव कृती ॥
संवत् १५२६ समये श्रावण वदि द्वादशी शुक्रदिने। श्रीमत् काश्या विश्वेश्वर-राजधान्या। The date works out to be August 1473 (not 1472) A. D., when Śaṅkara Miśra was alieve, as the scribe clearly indicates.

(6) *Kaṇādarahasya* A very useful Vaiśeṣika manual of moderate length fortunately published at Varanasi (Chowkh., 1917, pp. 177). Śaṅkara gives here a complete survey of all Vaiśeṣika doctrines after the manner of Prasastapāda and though he has not indicated his sources, it is clear that he wrote after consulting all up to-date works on the subject. The fling at the 'Gauḍas' (p 48) for their incorrect pronunciation of the three sibilants is exactly borrowed, for instance from the *Līlāvatī* (p 445) As we have stated before (p. 10), Śaṅkara wrongly ascribed three views of the *Vyomāvatī* to the *Kandalī* (pp 81, 82 & 87), each of them refuted by Udayana Śaṅkara has punctuated the manual with many Kārikās drawn from various sources (pp. 7, 23, 25, 26, 47, 88, 93, 98, 100, 109,123, 152 & 163). He betrays the influence of his age by waxing eloquent whenever a Gaṅgeśa brand topic crops up (e g Vyāptivāda and Upādhivāda on pp. 93-100) Like an orthodox Vaiśesika Śaṅkara divided the book into six sections without adding one on Negation.

(7) *Vādivinoda* a remarkable manual exclusively dealing with rules of debate and specially how to defeat a

proud opponent. It was edited by M. M. Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jha (Allahabad, 1915, pp 4+73) It is divided into 5 Ullāsas under the scheme set forth in verse :

कथातः प्रश्नतः प्रश्नज्ञानात् प्रश्नपराहतेः ।
प्रश्नानुत्तरतः क्वापि पराहङ्कारशातनम् ॥

The bulk of the book is taken up by the first chapter (pp. 1-44) on the rules of debate and the third (pp. 47-71) on the exact connotation of a problem containing a brilliant survey of all philosophical topics Unlike the other works of Śaṅkara this book refers to many early authors and works, some of which are important. An alphabetical list is appended here.

Anumānamayūkha (p 59), Ācārya (17), Candra (53), *Cintāmaṇi* (17), Jīvanātha Miśra (61), *Nyāyalocana* (57), *Bhedaprakāśa* (44), Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra (17, 35-36), *Ratnakoṣa* (2, 17), *Mahārṇava* (53), Murāri Miśra (53), *Līlāvati* (41), Vallabhācārya (41), Śaṅkara (41), and Sānātani (2). The *Vādivinoda* is mentioned in the *Kaṇādarahasya* (103 & 177) and the *Upaskāra* (p. 397).

(8) *Vaiśeṣikasūtropaskāra* The original *Vaiśeṣikasutras* of Kaṇāda, like the *Sāṅkhyasūtras* of Kapila, were neglected by scholars ever since Praśastapāda composed the excellent manual named *Padārthapraveśa* which ousted all previous works of the school and came to be regarded as the *Bhāṣya*, which it was strictly not. The paucity of literature upon the Sūtras as against that upon the so-called *Bhāṣya* of Praśastapāda is well-known and by a stroke of genius Saṅkara Miśra immortalised himself by writing this running commentary upon the Sūtras. Śaṅkara was quite conscious of the adventurous nature of his task, which he likened to sporting in the sky, but his ambition was more than fulfilled when we find that the *Upaskāra* became the standard work on the subject throughout India. Śaṅkara had written thus at the commencement of the book :—

सूत्रमात्रावलम्बेन निरालम्बेऽपि गच्छत: ।
खे खेलवन्ममाप्यत्र साहसं सिद्धिमेष्यति ॥ (verse 3)

The only previous work Sankara had before him was a certain *Vṛtti*, which he had frequently cited (B. I. ed , 1861, pp 6, 51, 55, 58, 161, 200, 260, 264, 283, 411, 414 & 419). It was an early work, as indicated by Śaṅkara and is now completely lost. But Śaṅkara admits in the second verse of the introduction that he was indebted to two persons for his knowledge on the Tantra viz the ancient sage Kaṇāda and the recent scholar Bhavanātha, his own father. Probably he had only fragments of the Vṛtti before him. Naturally Śaṅkara had adorned his commentary with brilliant summaries of Navyanyāya topics, whenever he found an opportunity. For instance, the Maṅgalvāda (pp. 3-6), the Muktivāda (pp. 10 18) the Vyāptivāda (pp 149-55), Pākānumāna (pp. 285-92), Dvitvaprakarana (pp 318-24) and references to his own *Maṇiṭikā* betray his predilection. Nevertheless the *Upaskāra* is the only work now available on the Sūtras of Kanāda, which were shaped into a regular text-book, though how far they represent the original work of Kanāda remains a matter of investigation and speculation

(9) *Līlāvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* A complete commentary on the work of Śrīvallabha It explains the original text and is *not* a sub-commentary of Vardhamāna's *Prakāśa* It was written after the *Vādivinoda* and the *Kaṇādarahasya* (both mentioned on p. 777. The references to Bhāsarvajñācārya (wrongly printed in the Chowkh. ed , p. 771) and the Kandalīkāra (p. 842 *vide* Kandalī p. 119) should be noted As this work is now fortunately published along with Vardhamāna's *Prakāśa* (Chowkh , ed , 1934, pp. 834) we invite the attention of scholars to a remarkable feature in it Śaṅkara has nowhere mentioned the name of Vardhamāna in this commentary. On the other hand in many places Vardhamāna's

views have been cited anonymously (e g इत्येके p. 13) and mostly criticised (अनादेयम् p. 2, अयुक्तम् pp 10 & 76. Also pp 47 48 where Vardhamāna had refuted the words of a previous commentator) Śankara appparently did not belong to the group of Vardhamāna who was looked upon somewhat in a spirit of rivalry This feeling towards Vardhamāna was undoubtedly acquired by Śankara from his father and senior uncle For he has stated at the end of his commentary that all his explanations had been derived from his father, who again learnt them from his elder brother

स्वभ्रातुर्जीवनाथस्य व्याख्यामाख्यातवान् यत ।
मत्पिता भवनाथो या तामिहालिखमुत्तमाम् ॥

(p. 864 also *Ātmatattvavivekakalpalatā* B I ed, p. 948)

VĀCASPATI MIŚRA II One of the greatest academic figures of Mithila and regarded as the foremost authority in Maithila Smrti He wrote in his old age the *Śrāddhakalpa* (i e. *Pitrbhaktitarangini*) when he was the crest jewel of all the assemblies of (Maithila) scholars (according to the epithet सकलपण्डितमण्डलीशिरोमणिना found in the colophon of the book L 2001) In the following verse at the end of the book he recorded the total number of his previous works —

शास्त्रे दश स्मृतौ त्रिंशन्निबन्धा येन यौवने ।
निर्मितास्तेन चरमे वयस्येष विनिर्ममे ॥

'Śāstra' as distinguished from 'smrti' means here the Nyāya philosophy For, Vācaspati himself states at the end of his *Krtyapradipa* (Des Cat of Mithilā Mss Vol I p 67) —

वंशे जात कलुपरहिते कर्ममीमांसकानाम्
अन्वीक्षाया गुरुकरुणया लब्धतत्त्वावबोध ।
श्रीमान् वाचस्पतिरहमिह प्रीतये पुण्यभाजा
नत्वा नत्वा कमलनयन कृत्यदीप तनोमि ॥

The smṛti works of Vācaspati have engaged the labours of many distinguished scholars, notably M. Chakravarti (J.A.S.B. 1915, pp. 394-400) and Kane (*Hist. of Dharmasastra*, I, pp. 399-400). We shall only attempt to give a brief account of the Nyāya works of Vācaspati in this book and assign his proper place in the history of Navyanyāya in Mithilā .

Vācaspati wrote, what appears to be one of the best commentaries on the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gotama—(1) the *Nyāya-*(or *Naya-*) *Tattvāloka*, better known as *Tattvāloka*. No complete copy of the book has yet been discovered. The largest fragment is preserved in London (I. O., I, pp 610-11)[1] which was examined by us thoroughly. The third introductory verse, cited by us before (p 2), where the six earlier commentaries are respectfully mentioned, proves along with the author's sense of diffidence exhibited in vv. 4-5 that it was one of the earliest works of Vācaspati, if not his very first work.

धीरसङ्गममवाप्य मादृशैरल्पधीभिरपि यन्निबध्यते ।
तन्न चित्रमतिमञ्जुपाट(लि)काननेऽप्यसुरभिः सुरभिर्यत् ॥४
यत् कथंचिदिह किंचिदवद्यं स्यात् कचित्तदभिदोपकबन्धम् ।
संसरत्पुरपस्तमोऽनतीतः को न मुह्यति वच.पथे चरन् ।.५

An alphabetical list of the authorities cited in the book is given below.

1 Eggeling's descriptive note requires correction The last folio with a blank reverse which is marked '182' in a decidedly later hand is really '164' which is missing in its proper place , this real page mark is still visible behind the present correction Fol. 165-181 contain the commentary on the whole of the first 'āhnika' of Chap III (with its colophon in 176a) and of the whole of the first three 'prakaranas' of the second 'āhnika'. This portion has a new pagination (fol 1-17) along with the old one The Ms. is in the Bengali script from three different hands (1-120, 121-26, 127-81). Fol. 113 is missing , in its place there is a f l., marked 33, from the same hand but belonging to quite a different book Of the five colophons two (81a, 176a) name the book '*Nyāyatattvāloka*', two (134b, 164a) '*Nyāya-*' and one (92a) simply '*Tattvāloka*'.

Ācārya (*i. e.*, Udayana) 36a, 51b, 92b, 99b, 128b and 129b.

Uddyota 53a.

Kandalīkāra 33a (on tamas).

Kīrti (i. e., Dharmakīrti) 42a & 109b.

Khaṇḍanoddhārakārādayaḥ 84b: the reference is to the earlier work of Vardhamāna cited by Vācaspati in his own *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*, p. 77.

Candra 108b.

Cārvāka 41a & 166a.

Cintāmaṇikṛtaḥ 3b, 9a, 21b, 28b, 34a, 72a, 73a, 75b, 89a, 137a & 158.

Jayanta 48b.

Jaimini 41a & 41b.

Ṭikākṛtaḥ 65b, 103a & 117a (*i. e.*, the earlier Vācaspati Miśra).

Taraṇi Miśra 88a, 112a & 130a.

Tāṇḍibrāhmaṇa 121a.

Dignāga 14a, 36b, 40b, 47ab, 70b, 723b & 74b All the passages are taken from the *Tātparyaṭīkā* of earlier Vācaspati.

Nyāyalocanakṛtaḥ 153a.

Prajñākara 42a.

Prabhākaropādhyāya 70b: a later Nyāya scholar.

Prameyaprakāśa (& *Tṛtīyaprakāśa*) 53a (of Vardhamāna).

Bhartṛhari 77b.

Bhāgavṛtti 77b.

Bhāṣya 11b, 14b & 94b.

Bhāskara 12a, 21b, 53a & 67a.

Mādhyamaka 95a.

Murārimiśra 62b.

Vatseśvara 127b.

Vasubandhu 40b, 70b, 73b & 76a (all taken from the *Tātparyaṭīkā*).

Vācaspati Miśra (I) 62a.

Vāmanavṛtti 77b.

Vārṣyagaṇya 41a (also taken from the *Tātparyaṭīkā*).

Vaibhāṣikāḥ 10b & 22b.

Śabara 50b.

Śivāditya Miśra 75a.

Sānātanī 82a.

Sandalopādhyāya 63a.

Sautrāntikāḥ 10ab & 22b.

We have omitted in the above list the numerous references to unspecified sources like Prāñcaḥ, Navyāḥ, Saugatāḥ, Sāṅkhyāḥ, etc. The largest number of references belongs to Gaṅgeśa. In fact the *Tattvāloka* is one of the earliest attempts to explain the *Nyāyasūtras* under the new light of Gaṅgeśa's epoch-making work. Whole chapters of the *Cintāmaṇi* have been summarised by Vācaspati under different sūtras, *e.g.*, Maṅgalavāda in the beginning, *Muktivāda* under I. i. 22, *Vidhivāda* under II. i. 63 etc. With the ever increasing popularity of the Cintāmaṇi the study of the original *Nyāyasūtras* declined. It is a remarkable and interesting fact that the *Tattvāloka* is more than double the size of the *Nyāyarahasya* the next commentary on the *Nyāyasūtras* which was written by Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma of Navadvīpa more than a century after Vācaspati—the corresponding portion of the present fragment of the *Tattvāloka* ends on folio 88a of the Baranasi Ms. of the *Nyāyarahasya* of about the same size. About a century later again, Viśvanātha Pañcānana wrote the *Vṛtti*, which is much smaller in size than the *Nyāyarahasya* and

in the 18th century, the *Vṛtti* of Viśvanātha again was summarised by an unknown scholar[1] It should be noted that Vācaspati has not referred to any of his own works in the *Tattvāloka*

The text of the *Nyāyasūtras* as determined by himself was shown by Vācaspati in a seperate booklet named (2) *Nyāyasūtroddhāra* It was written when he was adorning the court of a certain king of Mithilā. The total number of Sūtras according to him is 531 as against 528 arrived at by the earlier Vācaspati in the *Nyāyasūcinibandha* It appears that the late Mahāmahopādhyāya V. P. Dvivedi had access to a Ms. of this work copied in Caitra 1428 The socalled *Gautamsūtram* printed along with the *Nyāyabhāsya* in pp. 28 with the introductory verse,

श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण मिथिलेश्वरसूरिणा ।
लिख्यते मुनिमूर्धन्य श्रीगौतममतं महत् ॥

is not an edition of the *Nyāyasūtroddhāra*, as is sometimes supposed, but only a text of the *Nyāyasutras* prepared by the editor of the *Bhāsya* after cosulting various books including a copy of the *Sūtroddhāra*.

The next work of Vācaspati—(3) the *Nyāyaratnaprakāśa* —seems to have escaped the notice of all scholars It is a commentary on the *Nyāyaratna* of Manikantha Miśra, a pre-Gaṅgeśa Navyanyāya scholar of Mithilā

There is a complete copy of Vācaspati's commentary at Poona which we have thoroughly examined The beginning and the end of this unique book are exactly reproduced below —(B. O. R I Ms No. 775 of 1884 87, foll 71)

Begins—कनकक(मललक्ष्मीस्पर्धिराधा)कुचाग्रग्रथितनयनभृंगस्मेरवक्त्राम्बुजश्री ।
नवगगनतमालश्यामलामन्दगात्र क्षपयतु मम कर्म क्रूरमक्रूर(मित्र) ॥१॥
(जीवातु)र्मकरध्वजस्य रमणीलावण्यदीक्षागुरु
कारुण्यैकनिकेतनं त्रिजगतामुत्पत्तिबीजं मह ।

उत्तुङ्गस्तनभारभङ्गुरतनुर्नृत्यत्कटाक्षच्छटा-
निष्पीतत्रिपुरारिधैर्यजलधिः पायाद्गणेशप्रसूः ॥ २ ॥

भावसोत्कलिककैटभद्विषो लोचनार्धपथमेत्य निर्वृताः।
इन्दिरानयनपालिपंक्तयो ह्रीभरेण मसृणाः पुनन्तु नः ॥३॥

यस्य प्रांचः समजनिषत क्षोणिपालाः सहस्रं
राकाचन्द्रप्रतिमयशसो विश्वविख्यातवीर्याः।
सोऽयं क्षोणीवलयतिलकः कोऽपि 'चौहाणि'वंशो-
त्तंसो राजाजनि नयवतामग्रणी'र्वीर्यभानुः' ॥४॥

दृष्टान्तोऽसौ नृपाणां नयविनयवतामग्रणीः शौर्यभाजां
सीमा 'पंचाल'भूमीवलयपरिवृढः किंकरो नन्दसूनोः।
उद्यद्दोर्दर्पलीलानियमितनिखिलप्रत्यनीकावनीशो
राजा 'श्रीमत्प्रतापः' समजनि समयस्तस्य वंशावतंसः ॥५॥

तस्यास्ति विश्वमहनीयगुणाभिरामा लीलावती कनकजंगमकल्पवल्ली।
'पद्मावती'ति भुवनप्रथिताभिधाना शुद्धान्ववायविभवा महिषी नृपस्य ॥६॥

तस्या नियोगमधिगम्य महीमघोन्या 'वाचस्पति'र्गुरुपदाम्बुजनम्रमौलिः।
नत्वा निशाकरकिशोरकिरीटरत्नं श्री'न्यायरत्नम'मलं विशदीकरोति ॥७॥

इह पण्डितप्रवरेण श्रीमता मणिकण्ठाचार्येण जगदुपशमनिदानभूतन्यायनयां-
शवापन्ने न्यायरत्नाभिधानप्रकरणरूपे गुरुणि कर्मणि प्रारिप्सिते शिष्टाचारानुमितश्रुति-
बोधितकर्तव्यताकं मङ्गलमाचरितमपि नोपनिबद्धम्। न हि उपनिबंधोऽपीष्टफलोत्पत्तौ
तन्त्रम्। (fol. 1a)

Ends :—विभूषयति विश्वेषां विदुषां हृदयस्थलीम्।
'न्यायरत्नप्रकाशो'ऽयं श्रीवाचस्पतिना कृतः ॥
तर्ककान्तारचारिण्यः स्खलन्ति प्रायशो धियः।
तत् समादधति प्राज्ञा एष धर्मः सनातनः ॥

इति श्रीसमस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमानमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमत्प्रतापरुद्रीयमहामहिषी-
श्रीपद्मावतीसमादिष्टश्रीवाचस्पतिविरचितो न्यायरत्नप्रकाशः समाप्तः ॥ संवत् १६
षोडशोत्तरा प्रवर्तमाने दक्षिणायने श्रीरवौ कार्तिके मासि असितपक्षे तृतीयायुतौ

"(भट्टश्रीगोविंदात्मजेन कान्हाभिधानेन स्वपठनार्थं तथा च) परोपकारार्थं मणिकण्ठटीका वाचस्पति(वे?)रलेखि । (fol. 71)

The date of the copy works out regularly to be 1616 V. S. when Kārtika Badi 3 actually fell on a Friday, corresponding to Nov 17, 1559 A.D The commentary was written by Vācaspati at the request of Padmāvatī, queen of Mahārājādhirāja Pratāparudra (son of Vīryabhānu), a 'Chauhānī prince of Pañcālabhūmi We are unable to trace the name of the king who must have flourished somewhere in the United Provinces in the second quarter (1425 50 A D) of the 15th century A doubt will naturally arise whether this Vācaspati is identical with the famous scholar of Mithilā The following facts however substantially prove the identity The last verse at the end of the commentary embodying the author's diffidence and humble approach towards scholars is exactly reproduced in the beginning of the *Khandanoddāra*.[1] The views expressed in the present commentary regarding mangalā carana' exactly tally with those found in the *Tattvāloka*[2]. Moreover, a Navyanyāya work of Mithilā is not likely to engage the labours of a non Maithila or non-Bengali scholar in the 15th century

The question now is what led Vācaspati to leave his native land and seek patronage of a foreign prince We conjecture that there was trouble at Mithilā when Narasimha of the junior-most branch of the Raj family became chief after the death of Sivasimha and Padmasimha of the senior branch sometime between 1425 and 1435 A. D. He came back probably when Bhairavasimha became the undisputed king of Mithilā.

1 Introd verse 4 (with the reading गिर for धिय)

The first leaf which is torn leaves lacuna in the first two verses which are filled up from readings in a small fragment (foll 20 only) of this very commentary preservod in the Oriental Institute Baroda (Ms. No 10287) this fragment goes up to the fol 11b of the Poona Ms

2 Fol 2b विहितमपि या न न्यबन्धि, न हि उपनिबन्धोऽपि सत्र तन्त्रमिति ।

The *Nyāyaratnaprakāśa*, unlike other works of the great author, is not discursive but concise It practically contains no references to works and authors other than those found in the *Nyāyaratna* itself Manikaṇṭha quotes from the *Ratnakośa* , one of the passages is —संशयविरोधिधर्मद्वयविषयानुमितिजनकत्वं सत्प्रतिपक्षत्वमिति रत्नकोशः[1]. Vācaspati comments तरणिमिश्रमतमाह-संशयेति and then (fol. 37b), exactly reproduces the argument of Gaṅgeśa in refutation of this view. This finally settles Taranimiśra's authorship of the *Ratnakośa.*

Vācaspati next wrote three independent treatises *viz*,

(4) *Pratyakṣanirṇaya*, not yet discovered but cited in the *Khandanoddhāra* (p 139)

(5) *Anumānanirṇaya*, also cited in the *Khandanoddhāra* (pp. 72, 83-4 & 90), a Maithila fragment of this work is reported from Nepal, wrongly described as a commentary on the *Anumānakhanda* The introductory verse cited below proves that like the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* it analyses the Nyāya and Mīmāmsā views on inference (Sastri *Nepal Cat*, I p 94)

आराध्य यादवकिशोरमतिप्रयत्नादभ्यस्य गौतममतं सह जैमिनीयम् ।
सारं विविच्य भवयोरनयोरशेषं वाचस्पतिर्विशदयत्यनुमानमार्गम् ॥

(6) *Śabdanirṇaya* cited in his own *Dvaitanirṇaya* (Darbhanga ed p 8)

(7) The *Khandanoddhāra* is a bold refutation of Śrīharṣa's *Khandana* from the standpoint of the Nyaya It is a learned work and best displays the author's dialectical skill and vastness of learning The numerous references found in the book are collected here alphabetically.

1 Fol 34b of the R A S B Ms of the *Nyāyaratna* this passage is also cited by Gaṅgeśa in a very much expanded form as from the Ratnakośakāra *Tattvacintāmaṇi* B I Ed *Anumāna* pp 885-88

(References are to the *Khaṇḍanoddhara* published in the *Pandit*, 1903-07, pp. 171)

Ācārya (pp. 13-14, 45, 55, 71 & 81), *Ātmatattvaviveka* (45 & 160), *Kāñcanamālinī* (Kāvya ? p. 25), *Kusumāñjali* (p. 71), *Khaṇḍana* (often), *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* (of Vardhamāna, p. 77), Guravaḥ (p. 99), Cintāmaṇikāra (p. 75), Jarantaḥ Jayantādayaḥ (p 93), Ṭīkā (p. 34 &c 6 times), *Tattvabodha* (p. 118), *Tattvāloka* (p 25), Tātparyācārya (p. 81), Dharmakīrti (pp. 148, 150 & 159), Narasiṁha (p. 40), Nibandhakṛtaḥ (pp. 51 & 76), Nyāyācārya (p 68), Bhaṭṭa (pp. 89 & 143), *Bhāṣya* (p. 7), Bhūṣaṇa (p. 136), Maṇikaṇṭha (p. 124), *Mahārṇava* (p. 40 & 79), Māgha (p. 25), Maitreya (pp. 55 & 57), *Ratnakoṣa* (not *Ratnaprakāśa* as printed, pp. 73 & 118), Līlāvatīkṛtah (p. 76), Vaṭseśvara (p. 40), Vardhamānopādhyāya (pp. 77 & 150), *Vivarana* (p 35), Śaṅkarācārya (p. 32), and Hariśarmā (p 40)

Vācaspati's contemporary Śaṅkara Miśra of Mithilā also wrote a *Bhedaratna* about the same time Both of them were regarded as the greatest opponents of the Vedānta at that time and drew forth a sharp and interesting retort from their younger contemporary Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma of Bengal, who had a distinct leaning towards the Vedānta, though he was also a distinguished commentator of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. We quote this important passage of the *Khaṇḍanabhūṣāmaṇi* of Raghunātha .—

किं च, सर्वमभिन्नं घटपटौ भिन्नाविति बुद्धयो॰ प्रामाण्ये सति क बाध्यबाधकभावकल्पना, न हि प्रमेयत्वादिनापि न सर्वमभिन्नं मन्यामहे इति शंकरमिश्राणाम् अद्वैतखंडनं श्रुत्वाऽस्मत्परमगुरुभि॰ सार्वभौम-भट्टाचार्यैरुक्तम्

वाचस्पतिशंकरयो-र्गौतम(क्र)तनु(द्वि)शास्त्रगर्वितयोः ।
निर्वापयामि गर्वमेकं ब्रह्मास्त्रमादाय[1] ॥

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1. *vide* fol. 68b of Ms No 95 of Sans Coll, Calcutta and fol 50b of Ms at Sarasvati-Bhavana, Varanasi. Compare *Bhedaratna* (S. B. Text, p 53) and *Khandanoddhāra* (pp. 45-47)

The implication of the passage should not be ignored, Raghunātha the author of the *Khandanabhūsāmani*, who calls Sārvabhauma his 'Paramaguru' becomes quite different from the famous Raghunātha Siromani who was according to reliable evidence his direct pupil (*vide Vange Navyanyāya-carcā*, pp 36-37) The language of the above couplet of Sārvabhauma seems to show that Vācaspati slightly preceded Sankara Miśra, for, by ordinary rules of grammar, the compound should have been शङ्करवाचस्पती as in the *Dandaviveka* of Vardhamāna II (introd., v 6)

(8) Vācaspati also commented on the *Tattvacintāmani*, perhaps last of all, for, he has not referred to this commentary in any of his previous works as far as available. There is a unique Ms of the Pratyaksa chapter of the *Cintāmaniprakāśa* preserved in the *Sarasvatī Bhavana*[1] The colophon runs—

इति महामहोपाध्याय-सन्मिश्र-श्रीवाचस्पतिकृतौ चिन्तामणिप्रकाशे प्रत्यक्ष-परिच्छेदः। अलेखि शुभिनाथेन...

As we shall presently see it is probably the earliest extant commentary on the *Tattvacintāmani*

(9) That Vācaspati also commented on the Anumāna chapter of Gangeśa will be apparent from the following evidence Kanāda Tarkavāgīśa, who was by tradition a fellow-student of Śiromani, commented on the *Cintamani*. We have come across the following passage in the (Vyāpti) Pūrvapaksa-prakarana of Kanāda's *Anumānamanivyākhyā* —

वाचस्पतिमिश्रास्तु प्रागुक्तयोरत्यन्तान्योन्याभावगर्भलक्षणयो सिंहगुहावलोकन-न्यायेन दूषणान्तरमाहुः—महानसादाविति। उक्तलक्षणाभावात् = प्रागुक्तयोर्लक्षण-योरसत्त्वात्। युक्त चेद व्याख्यानमन्यथा लक्षणेत्यत्र उक्तपदवैयर्थ्यापत्तेरिति प्राहुः। आलोककृतस्तु (fol 15b of a Ms in our possession)

1 Nyāya Vaiśeska Ms No 282 on palm leaf in the Bengali script, fol 1 70 73 80

This peculiar interpretation of Vācaspati has also been cited under his name by Jagadiśa Tarkālaṅkāra in the *Maṇimayūkha*[1] apparently borrowing from Kaṇāda Pragalbhācārya also respectfully quotes the interpretation under the flattering epithet 'Sampradāyavidaḥ'[2]. Moreover, in the Anumiti-prakarana of *Anumānāloka* of Jayadeva (Pakṣadhara) the passage न च संशयस्थले विशिष्टधीरेव न तादृशीति वाच्यम् (fol. 4b) refers, according to Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgiśa, to an interpretation of Vācaspati *वाचस्पतिमतमाशंक्य निषेधति—न चेति*[3]. It should be noticed that both the passages of Vācaspati cited above have reference to particular text of the *Cintāmaṇi* and are not likely to belong to his independent treatise *Anumānanirṇaya.*

What was the tenth or the last work of Vācaspati on the Nyāya remains a matter of speculation It may be the Śabdakhaṇḍa of this *Cintāmaṇiprakāśa* or a commentary on the *Nyāyalīlāvati*, if the following passage, which we traced in a fragment of an unidentified commentary on the *Līlāvati-Śiromaṇi* preserved in a private collection at Navadvipa warrants such a conjecture .—न च व्याप्तौ चरमद्रव्यपदं मणिध्वंसजन्यदाहस्य मण्युपादानोपादेयत्वाभावात् व्यभिचारवारकमस्तु आद्य तु किमर्थमिति वाच्यं स्वार्गशरीरस्य आत्ममनःसंयोगध्वंसरूपप्रयागमरणजन्यत्वेन व्यभिचारवारकत्वात् इति वाचस्पतिमिश्राः । तत्र, (fol. 103b). Vācaspati also wrote a *Sahasrādhikāraṇa* on the Pūrvamimāṁsā rules of interpretation Two references to this work were traced by us in the *Navyadharmapradipa* of Kṛpārāma Tarkavāgiśa written in 1686 Śaka (1764-5 A. D.)[4] अत्रौडुम्बरी ताम्री प्रतिमेति सायनः "उडुम्बरशाखेति माधवाचार्यः इति *सहस्राधिकरणे वाचस्पतिमिश्राः ।* This long lost work on the Mimāṁsā may also have been included in his philosophical works.

1 Fol '12a of a fragment of 'Mūla *Jāti*' in our possession.

2 सम्प्रदायविदस्तु सिंहावलोकनन्यायेन पूर्वलक्षणद्वयेऽव्याप्तिमाहेत्याहु । Fol 10a of (*Anumāna-*) *Pragalbhī*, Ms No 298 of the *Sarasvatī Bhavana*, Benaras.

3 Fol 16a of Bhavānanda's *Ālokamanisāra*, Ms. No 361 of the *Sarasvati Bhavana.*

4. Fol 16b of Ms No 1602 of the *Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, Calcutta; the book is mentioned also in fol. 43b.

Vacaspati and his contemporaries As the author of the above ten works Vacaspati chronologically stands at the top of a galaxy of Navyanyāya scholars of Mithila and Bengal As we have stated above Vācaspati preceded both Jayadeva and Pragalbhācārya A more convincing proof of Vācaspati's relation with the other great scholars of the period has been traced by us In the Prāmānyavāda (of the *Pratyaksakhanda*) Vācaspati comments on the second 'Vipratipatti thus —

अत्र प्रामाण्यग्रहस्य तज्ज्ञानविषयकेश्वरज्ञानजन्यतया तज्ज्ञानविषयकज्ञान-जन्यत्व न्यायनयेनासिद्ध तज्ज्ञानप्रामाण्यस्येश्वरज्ञानविषयतया च तज्ज्ञानविषयक-ज्ञानाजन्यज्ञानग्राह्यत्व परत पक्षेऽप्यक्षतमिति न वाच्य तज्ज्ञानविषयकसमानाधि-करणज्ञानाजन्यसमानाधिकरणज्ञानविषयत्वस्य विवक्षितत्वात्। जन्यपदद्वयप्रक्षेपेण तु न समाधान पर प्रति व्यावर्त्याप्रसिद्धे[1]।

Both the solutions suggested here for meeting the two objections the word Samānādhikarana' as an addendum being Vācaspati's own peculiar solution in preference to the word 'Janya' suggested by a previous commentator have been referred to and rejected by Jayadeva *viz* —'न च समानाधिकरणपदजन्यपदाद्युपादानमेव तदर्थं क्रियतामिति युक्त परमते व्यर्थविशेषणत्वात्[2] Bhavānanda Siddhantavāgiśa in his *Pratyaksalokasaramañjari* stated in his comment on the present passage उपाध्याय-वाचस्पतिमिश्रयोर्मत निराचष्टे—न चेति। द्वितीयतृतीयज्ञानयो समानाधिकरणत्व जन्यत्व वा विशेषण-मित्यर्थ। In this comment Bhavānanda mentions the name of Upadhyāya (i. e Yajñapati) before Vācaspati This is not chronologically correct Bhavānanda was a pupil of Krsnadasa Sārvabhauma from whom evidently he got the information Krsnadāsa's *Pratyaksālokaprasārani* has been recently discovered by us He correctly notes here —वाचस्पतिमिश्रोपाध्याययोर्मत-माशङ्क्य निषेधति—न चेति (fol 34a of Ms in our possession) It was known to Krsnadāsa that both chronologically and exegeti-

1 Fol 10b of *Pratyakṣacintāmaniprakāśa* of Vācaspati

2 Fol 14a of a Ms of the *Pratyakṣāloka* in our possession

cally Vācaspatı preceded Upādhyāya[1]. Pragalbhācārya has also referred to the above solution of Vācaspatı, but the ground of his rejection of it is different —यद्वा ईश्वरज्ञानेन सिद्धसाधनवारणाय तदादायासंभववारणाय च तज्ज्ञानविषयकसमानाधिकरणज्ञानाजन्यसमानाधिकरण-ज्ञानग्राह्यमिति साध्यम् । तच्चिन्त्यम् । वस्तुत्वादिसामान्यलक्षणप्रत्यासत्तिजन्यज्ञानेन उक्तरूपवता न्यायमते सिद्धसाधनात्, न्यायनये व्यतिरेकसाधने बाधाद्वा" । Rucidatta, the pupil of Jayadeva, reproduces here both the grounds of rejection (fol 32a, of A S Ms No III C 120) :—परमते व्यर्थविशेषणत्वात्, सामान्यलक्षणादिजन्यज्ञानग्राह्यत्वेन तथापि पूर्वोक्तदोषानतिवृत्तेश्च । Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma's comment on the point is not available, but his pupil Śiromani, curiously enough, sticks to the solution of Vācaspati ignoring the adverse criticisms (Prāmānyavāda, 1901, p. 66) For the purposes of chronology all the above important references are, however thrown to the shade by the momentous discovery that Yajñapati formulated his own solution of the problem after rejecting that of Vacaspati. Yajñapati comments on the point :—अन्ये त्वीश्वरज्ञानेन सिद्धसाधनवारणाय तदादाया-सम्भवस्य च वारणाय तज्ज्ञानविषयसमानाधिकरणज्ञानाजन्यसमानाधिकरणज्ञान-ग्राह्यमिति साध्यं वर्णयन्ति । (*Pratyaksaprabhā*, Paris copy fol 23-24) Yajñapati's son Narahari reproduces his father's argument in the *Pratyaksadūsanoddhāra* thus —(fol 29b of London copy). न च तज्ज्ञानविषयकसमानाधिकरणज्ञानाजन्यसमानाधिकरणज्ञान-ग्राह्यमिति विधिकोट्यर्थ इति वाच्य तथापि सामान्यलक्षणादिजन्यज्ञानादिना सिद्ध-साधनस्य तादवस्थ्यादिति चेत्—अत्रास्मत्पितृचरणा, तज्ज्ञानविषयकसमानाधि-करणज्ञानाजन्यतन्मात्रविषयकज्ञानग्राह्यमिति विधिकोट्यर्थं तत्र सिद्धसाधनम् । तज्-ज्ञानविषयकज्ञानप्रामाण्यं न पक्ष तेन तत्र न बाधो दोष इत्याहु । Vācaspati, therefore, composed the commentary on Gangeśa's work sometime before the whole band of brilliant scholars, both of Mithilā and Bengal, occupied the field. Jayadeva, who wrote between 1460-75 A. D., was preceded by his teacher Yajñapati (about

1 Fol 31b of R A S B Ms No 4010.

2 Fol. 29b of *Pratyaksa Pragalbhī*, R A S B Ms No 1175, a very old copy dated 1575 V S i e, 1518 A D

1450 A. D who again came after Vācaspati. On the other hand, Śiromaṇi's teacher Sārvabhauma was preceded by Pragalbhācārya, who was slightly senior to Jayadeva All of them Sārvabhauma, Pragalbha and Jayadeva criticised Yajñapati and sometimes violently All these point to the conclusion that Vācaspati's Nyāya works were composed not later than 1440 A D and among his Nyāya works, it should be noted the *Maniprakāśa* was probably the latest. Vacaspati lived long enough to witness in his old age the flying colours of Yajñapati and Jayadeva which fully eclipsed the glories of his early life in the field of Navyanyaya It is thus that the pathetic appeal at the end of his last work the *Śrāddhakalpa* becomes significant

पद्वाक्यमाननिपुणा करतलकुवलयापमानविश्वदृश ।
अवलोकयत कृतिमिमा करुणावरुणालयेन हृदयेन ॥

Vācaspati probably concentrated on studies in Smrti since the advent of Yajñapati and Jayadeva in the field of Navyanyāya.

Vacaspati's family As stated by himself Vacaspati belonged to a 'spotless' family of Karmamīmānsakas In other words, all his ancestors were devotees of the Vedic culture and well versed in Mīmānsā, the logic of the Veda. The Mūlagrāma of his family is named 'Pali' or 'Palli' belonging to the Vatsya gotra, of which a branch is named after Vācaspati's native village 'Samauli'. Quite a bewildering mass of materials of Vācaspati's family connections are scattered in the *Pañjis*, where he is given the supreme title 'Paramaguru', which was never enjoyed by any other scholar in Mithilā with the single exception of Gangeśa These valuable genealogical data have been critically studied and published by Prof Jha (*Svadeśa*, I. iii pp 137-44) We need only refer to a few prominent details of chronological significance. He had four wives His first wife's father was a grandson of Mahārāja Bhogīśvara and his eldest son (by this wife) Lakṣmīnātha married the daughter's daughter of M M. Rudradhara Upādhyāya, the famous

Smārta, who was thus an exact contemporary and probably slightly senior in age to Vācaspati. His second wife's father was the daughter's son of Mahārāja Bhaveśvara. His third wife of the respectable 'Satalakhā' family was the first cousin of Śaṅkara Miśra's third wife. His fourth wife of the respectable 'Sodarapura' family was a cousin of Śaṅkara Miśra, who was thus his exact peer in age, relation and, let us add, learning. His youngest son (by the third wife) Mahopādhyāya Śrīhari Miśra gave his daughter in marriage to Bhavanātha, a son of M. M. Śucikara Upādhyāya of the Kujauli family. Vācaspati had a very large number of descendants, he had at least 28 grandsons, among whom only one M. M. Keśava (son of M.M. Narahari) made his name in the learned world as the author of the *Dvaitapariśiṣṭa*.

Vācaspati's patrons In his early life Vācaspati went abroad and was patronised by Queen Padmāvatī of Pañcāla. His connection with the rulers of Mithilā was, however, long and intimate. He wrote many works on Smṛti in the name of Harinārāyaṇa, the royal title of King Bhairavasiṁha, who was a cousin of his third wife. The most famous compilation of Vācaspati ascribed to Harinārāyaṇa is the *Smṛtimahārṇava*. This king Bhairava had five wives, according to the *Pañjis*, and the second wife named Jayāno is abundantly praised by Vācaspati in the introduction to his great discursive work *Dvaitanirṇaya* (verses 4-10). She was the mother of 'Rājādhirāja' Puruṣottamadeva, who was younger to Rāmabhadra and did not evidently ascend the throne. She ceremoniously employed Vācaspati, 'the master of all sciences' (v. 7 : निखिलतन्त्रविदं) to write that book. It was written when Bhairava was still reigning. This Prince Puruṣottama was sonless, though he had four wives.

There is a copy of *Mahādānanirṇaya* at Nepal (Sastri : Nepal Cat. Vol. I, pp. 122-3) ; it is ascribed to Harinārāyaṇa in the beginning and to Rupanārāyaṇa at the end. This has

caused some confusion, and it has been surmised that Bhairava enjoyed both royal titles (S N Sinha · Hist Tirhut, p 75) But it is extremely unlikely that father and son should have the same 'Viruda'. The copy is not available for examination It is much more likely that Bhairava was dead when the book was finished and his son Rāmabhadra was on the throne at the time. Vācaspati's last work the *Pitrbhaktitarangini* was expressly written at the fag end of his life at the request of the latter king.

Date of Vacaspati Since the discovery of the Kandahā Inscription of Narasinhadeva (i e Darpanārāyana, the father of Bhairava &c) dated 'शकाद्दे शराश्वमदनाङ्किते' which undoubtedly means 1375 Saka corresponding to 1453 4 A. D.[1] it is clear that Bhairava and his two sons Ramabhadra and Purusottama, all mentioned by Vācaspati, were living about 1480-1590 A. D. We should conclude, therefore, that the birth-date of Vācaspati cannot be placed before 1400 A. D. nor can it be placed after 1410 A. D, in consideration of the fact that his philosophical works all written in his 'youth', could not have been composed after 1440 A D, as we have stated above He must have survived till about 1490 A D if not later still Perhaps he was a man of the whole century

YAJÑAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA Better and more commonly known as simply Upādhyāya was the author of a commentary named *Prabhā* on the three parts of Gangeśa's work (omitting as usual the *Upamāna* part). Copies of the *Prabhā* are extremely rare There is a copy of the *Pratyaksa* part in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (A. Cabaton's Cat of Mss, 1907, p 150, No. 904, foll 100), a rotograph is now preserved in the Asiatic Society It is in Maithila script (not Bengali as written in the Cat) and begins —

1 J B O R S, XX pp 16-19 Jayaswal took it to mean 1357 Śaka as Narasinha's son Dhirasinha was already (on the throne ?) in 321 L S But all canons of chronology go against the interpretation (*vide* Dr S Jha *Vidyāpati Gitasangraha*, Introd, pp 44-46

कनकनिकषभासा सीतयालिङ्गिताङ्गो
नवकुवलयदामश्यामवर्णोऽभिरामः ।
अभिनव इव विद्युन्मण्डितो मेघखण्डः
शमयतु मम तापं सर्वतो रामचन्द्रः ॥

तातग्रन्थपरिप्राप्तसिद्धान्तशिवमुष्टिना ।
क्रियते *यज्ञपतिना* तत्त्वचिन्तामणेः प्रभा ॥

There is an old copy of the second part of the *Prabhā* preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Library (foll 125, 5 lines to a page the copy belonged to one Balarāma Chakravartī. 7 foll of Sūtras are added in the copy ending with the date 1408 Śaka Śrāvaṇa 28 i. e. 1486 A. D.). It begins —

गिरिशधनु(षि) (भ)ग्ने भाविसंबन्धबोधा-
दधिकव(लि)तलज्जामज्जनानन्दभा(जो): ।
स हरतु दुरितं मे मैथिलीदाशरथ्यो-
र्निभृतमिलदपाङ्गज्योतिषोः कोऽपि भावः ॥

अनुसृत्य मतं सम्यक् पितुः शिवपतेर्मया ।
अनुमानपरिच्छेदे प्रभा संप्रति तन्यते ॥

पूर्वापरग्रन्थैकवाक्यताप्रयोजकाकांक्षाबीजभूतां सङ्गतिं प्रदर्शयन्नेव शिष्यावधानार्थमिदानीमनुमाननिरूपणं क्रियत इति प्रतिजानीते—प्रत्यक्षेति । अत्र प्रत्यक्षोपजीवकेत्यादिना प्रत्यक्षनिरूपणानन्तरमनुमाननिरूपणे तयोर्हेतुहेतुमद्भावः सङ्गतिर्बीजमिति दर्शितम् । बहुवादिसंमतेत्यादिना तु प्रत्यक्षोपजीवकत्वाविशेषेप्यनुमानोपमानयोरल्पवादिविप्रतिपत्तिनिरासपूर्वं निरूपणतयालघुप्रतीतिकत्वेन प्रत्यक्षनिरूपणानन्तरं प्रथममनुमानमेव शिष्यजिज्ञासाविषयो भवतीत्युपमाननिरूपणात् पूर्वभावोऽनुमाननिरूपणस्येति प्रतिपादितम् ॥

No copy of the last part of the *Prabhā* has yet been discovered as far as we are aware. That Yajñapati had commented on this part also may be inferred from the fact that a quotation of his son Narahari, who defended his father against the attacks of Jayadeva, has been found in Rāghavendratīrtha's

Nyāyadīpa on the *Tarkatāndava* (Mysore ed , Vol II, p 35) referring to the Yogyatā section of the last part Upādhyāya is also cited in the *Sabda-Pragalbhi* (Poona copy, fol. 2) Many unfounded traditions existed about Yajñapati in the seminaries specially of Bengal It was given out for instance that Yajñapati was a son of Vardhamānopādhyāya and was more brilliant than the latter In the *Śabdakalpadruma* (p. 1791 under the word '*Nyāya*) it was stated that he was a pupil of both Gangeśa and Vardhamāna (तयोश्छात्रौ मणिमिश्रयज्ञपत्युपाध्यायौ मणि प्रभाकारौ) The extracts given above dispell all these traditions as entirely baseless and prove the following facts which should be carefully noted (1) His father named Śivapati had written a certain book (grantha') which does not seem to be a commentary and was probably an independent treatise on the Nyāya doctrines and Yejñapati based his commentary on that book of his father He does not clearly state that he read with his father

(2) Yajñapati's *Prabhā* superseded all previous commentaries on Gangeśa's work and laid, so to speak, the solid foundation upon which the latest phase of Navyanyāya studies upon Gangeśa flourished and quickly attained almost inconceivable heights in subtlety. Some of the views of Upādhyāya are now permanently embodied in the current texts. The *Prabhā* created quite a sensation in the learned world We have cited above the commencement of the second part of the *Prabhā* on the initial point of relevancy ('sangati') Yajñapati's pupil Jayadeva boldly characterised his reading of the text as spurious (केचित्तु पूर्वापर 'इहापि परम्परया कार्यकारणभाव सङ्गतिरित्यभिसन्धिना प्रत्यक्षोपजीवकत्वादिति पाठ कल्पयन्ति । *Anumānāloka*, fol. 1). Unlike Jayadeva, Pragalbhācārya exactly quoted the words of Yajñapati and improved upon it by adding two arguments (see *Anumāna Pragalbhī*). Śiromani also accepted the reading of Yajñapati and wrote his brilliant thesis on 'sangati', where Upādhyāya's views were not ignored. The antagonism of Jaya-

deva towards Yajñapati had far-reaching effects as we have stated elsewhere on the cultural history of Mithilā.

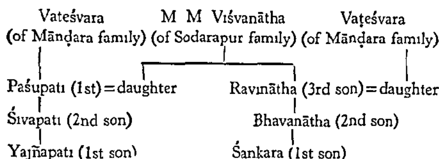
Hundreds of passages are now available where Yajñapati has been criticised by various scholars besides Jayadeva. We shall refer to two great names whose works are still unpublished. Pragalbha (whose Mangalavāda has been published in the S. B Texts under the wrong idea that he belonged to Mithilā) cited Yajñapati's views at every step and criticised them. We believe Pragalbha referred to his name only twice in the second part, the first time, it should be noted, respectfully in the plural number (इति यज्ञपतय । तत्र प्रगल्भाश्चिन्तयन्ति *Anumāna-Pragalbhī*, fol. 22b under the section Kevalānvayī also 63a under the same section) and his criticisms have always been sober and dignified. Not so, however, Sārvabhauma who was slightly junior to Pragalbha. In the only existing fragment of Sārvabhauma's *Anumānamaṇiparīkṣā* we counted as many as 52 references to Yajñapati by name (from fol. 29a), by far the largest number to a single author and some of Sārvabhauma's criticisms have been violent For instance, इति यज्ञपतेस्तच्छिक्षितानां च प्रलपितम् (fol. 42b under Viśesavyāpti), तत्को यज्ञपतेरन्य. प्राज्ञम्मन्यो भाषेत (49a under the same section) अत्र यज्ञपतिस्तत्प्रतारितश्च (66a under Tarka & 84a under Upādhi), इति यज्ञपतिपान्थपर्यटित पन्था (150a under Kevalānvayī). Who were the scholars "deceived by Yajñapati" cannot be spotted now in Mithilā or Bengal When Sārvabhauma wrote, somewhere between 1460 80 A D, Yajñapati and his unknown pupils formed a powerful group in Mithilā, as indicated by Sārvabhauma

We shall refer here to an interesting passage, upon which a somewhat heated wrangling continued for sometime both in Mithilā and Bengal In the section on Kevalavyatirekī Gangeśa scrutinised a passage of Udayana (B I. ed. pp. 599-601), for both Pragalbha उदयनाचार्याभिमत पक्षमाशङ्कते—अथेति (fol 67b) and Sārvabhauma आचार्यमतमाशङ्कते—अथेति fol. 161a) clearly indi-

cated the source here Gaṅgeśa is extremely sober and dignified in almost all his criticisms, but surprisingly enough he closed his criticism here with the phrase इति शिष्यधन्धनम् (p. 601, the word धन्धनम् 'causing confusion', though not Sanskrit, is locally used in Mithilā and Bengal). Gaṅgeśa's stricture against Udayana was rightly answered by Yajñapati (as found in the *Mamsāra* Trivandrum ed, p. 98) with a closing retort शिष्यधन्धनत्वाभिधान शिष्यधन्धनम् Jayadeva as usual with him, attacked Yajñapati closing with the phrase शिष्यधन्धनत्वाभिधाने शिष्यधन्धनत्वाभिधान स्वस्यैव शिष्यधन्धनम्! ib. p 98). Upon this Gopīnātha correctly observes तत्र शिष्यधन्धनत्वारोप एव महतामनुचित इति। A rare case of a confusion many times confounded! It should be noted that Gopinātha cited a 'Gauḍa' view also on the topic (p 99) which, however, cannot be traced in Sārvabhauma or Pragalbha and Śiromaṇi did not touch the topic at all

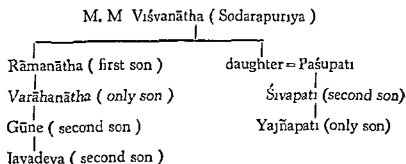
Yajñapati's age and family We have stated under Vācaspati Miśra II that Yajñapati cited and refuted an exposition of the latter His date of composition of the *Prabhā* cannot, therefore, be placed before 1450 A. D. Nor can it be placed after 1460 A. D when his pupil Jayadeva along with the Bengali scholars Pragalbha and Sārvabhauma became probably acquainted with his views This is confirmed in our opinion by his family history, so elaborately treated in the *Pañjis* of Mithilā. We shall refer to some of his numerous alliances,

(1) He belonged to the celebrated Māndara family of Kāśyapa gotra. He was closely and doubly related to Śankara Miśra as shown in the chart below.



This makes Yajñapati only slightly junior to Śankara, both belonging to the same generation Viśvanātha's daughter was the second wife of Paśupati and Sivapati her second son. Paśupati's sister s husband Ravinātha again was the first son of the second wife of Viśvanatha If Śankara Misra was born in the first decade (1400 10 A D) of the century Yajñapati was born, say, in the second decade (1410-20 A. D.)

(2) Yajñapati was also related to his distinguished pupil and critic Jayadeva (Paksadhara), though not quite so closely, as shown in the chart below.



Yajñapati is thus one generation senior to Jayadeva , but as Jayadeva belongs to the senior most branch of the family, Rāmanātha being the first son of the first wife of Viśvanātha, his difference in age with Yajñapati cannot be more than a decade or two Jayadeva's birth date would be about 1435 A D. according to our surmise In other words Yajñpati was about 20 years senior to him. This date of

Yajñapati is not in conflict with that of this great grandfather Vateśvara, who preceded him by one full century and was born, according to our surmise, in the first decade (1300-10 A D.) of the 14th century It should be noted that between Vateśvara and Yajñapati all except Śivapati were eldest sons and it would be reasonable to take 35 years to a generation as the average in this case.

Yajñapati was a Mahāmahopādhyāya, which in Mithilā generally meant a master of all sciences Apparently Yajñapati was regarded in his times as an authority on the Dharmaśastra also For, his son Narahari in his critical work on Smrti named *Dvaitanirnaya* quoted a passage of his father (p 7 दद इत्येव प्रयोक्तव्यमिति *पितृचरणा*) on the topic of Daksinādāna) It is probably a verbal verdict and does not refer to any Smrti work of Yajñapati

VATEŚVAROPADHYĀYA a doyen of his times in the cultural aristocracy of Mithilā though his name is now almost forgotten. He was universally known as the *Darpanakāra* both in Nyāya and Smrti In the *Pratyaksaloka* Jayadeva answers an adverse argument of the *Darpāna* to a passage of Gangeśa in the Siddhānta portion of Mangalavāda (B I. ed , pp. 89 90 Gangeśa handled the intricate नागृहीतविशेषणान्याय in his argument here) The particular passage of the *Āloka* runs इह विघ्नो मे माभूदित्यत्रेदमशम्यापि विशेषणत्वात् न्यायसाम्यमिति तु दर्पणस्य दूषणमनुचितमयमेव इदन्त्वस्य प्रतियोगिनि विघ्ने विशेषणत्वात् न तु तन्माते । (From an old Ms in our possession, *vide* p 157 of *Tattvacintāmani* with comm , S B Texts, 1939, wrongly printed in the Pūrvapaksa portion) The name of this Darpanakāra was quite unknown till we discovered the passage fully cited by Narahari Upādhyāya in the *Pratyaksadūsanoddhāra* (fol 19a of a unique Ms preserved in I O London) तद्यापि नागृहीतेति । अत्र वृद्धप्रपितामह-वटेश्वरोपाध्यायचरणा —यत्र कल्पनीय-कल्पनोपपत्ति ' न्यायसाम्यमवर्णनीयमेवेति द[illegible] मा[illegible] । Th[illegible]

of Vateśvara's argument (not cited in the *Āloka*) was restated by Vateśvara's great grandson Yajñapati, who was cited and criticised by many scholars (*vide* the *Pragalbhī* printed in the S B Texts, pp 162, 164, Madhusūdana's *Kantakoddhāra*, *ib.* p 158) We need only cite an unpublished note of Mādhava Miśra in the *Pratyaksālokadīpikā* on the point वटेशाना मतमुपन्यस्यति—इह वित्र इति। अत्रायमाशय—यत्र कल्पनीय" कामनाया अविषयत्वाच्च। (fol 44b of a unique Ms preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Library) It can now be stated confidently that the healthy conflict between Yajñapati and his pupil Jayadeva (so aptly described by Gokulanātha once as a 'family quarel' इति *मिश्रगणमुपाध्यायै* सह स्वगोत्रकलहोऽवशिष्यते fol 88b of A. S Ms. of *Siddhāntatattvaviveka*) which marked the most glorious period of the literary history of Mithilā really started about a century earlier with Vateśvara as a bold opponent of Gangeśa. This rivalry subsisted for about two centuries mainly through the descendants and relatives of Vateśvara and exercised a profound influence upon the cultural history of Mithilā as we shall presently see

Vateśvara must have written several works both on Smrti and Nyāya with the appellative 'Darpana' But he was more famous as a Nyāya scholar One of his sons Paksadharopādhyāya wrote at the beginning of his Smrti work named *Tattvanirnaya* —

न्यायार्णवपरिश्रान्तसूरितारणसेतवे।
गुरवे *श्रीवटेशाय* पराक्रमतये नम ॥
श्रीमत्पक्षधरैरेष प्रणम्य पितरं गुरम।
वटेश्वर विमूढाना क्रियते तत्त्वनिर्णय ॥

(Ms preserved at Mithilā Institute compare L 1845) In the fragment examined by us (foll 40 only) Paksadhara has quoted his father's views on Smrti topics (fol 5b, 28a & 35b), of these the second passage (28a) is long and extremely important, as Vateśvara has cited therein with approval an opinion

of Divākara Miśra's *Śuddhibimba* which is quite a new discovery in the Smṛti literature of Mithila Vateśvara has also been cited twice by his descendant Narahari in the *Dvaitanirnaya* (Darbhanga ed pp 10 & 32) The first passage (वृद्धप्रपितामहवटेश्वरोपाध्यायव्याख्यानमप्यमुमेवार्थं सवदति। तथाहि ' इति दर्पणे तल्लिखितम् p 10) where Vatesvara quotes approvingly from a work named *Sraddhapallava* proves that his Smrti work was named (*Smrti*) *Darpana*

Among his Nyāya works all of which seem to be now lost we have so far discovered the following names.

(1) *Nyayanibandhadarpana* Sankara Misra at the commencement of his *Trisutrinibandhavyakhya* (H P Sastri, Notices II No 136) wrote —

प्रकाशदर्पणोद्द्योतकृद्भिर्व्याख्या कृतोज्ज्वला।
तथापि योजनामात्रमुद्दिश्याथ समोद्यम ॥

Of the three illuminating scholia on Udayana's *Nibandha* which Sankara had before him the Uddyota (by Divākara) is the earliest and possible the three names have been mentioned in the ascending order of chronology In that case the author of the *Darpana* must have slightly preceded Vardhamāna, whose *Prakasa* is mentioned first of all This Darpanakāra is undoubtedly Vatesvara (and not Maheśa Thakkura as surmised by M Chakravarti J A S B, 1915, p 259 vide S B Studies III pp 148-49) Only one Darpanakāra was known in Mithilā in the 15th century A D whose identity was beyond any question

(2) *Nyāyalilavatīdarpana* A reference to this long lost book is found in the following passage of Paksadhara s *Dravyaviveka* अतएव लीलावतीप्रकाशदर्पणयो —"भावत्वे सति सयोगान्यप्रत्यासत्त्यापेयत्वम्" इत्येव पाठ (London, I O copy, fol 35a vide *Lilāvati* Chowkh ed p 798) Five more references have been traced in Paksadhara s *Lilavativiveka*, these are —

यद्यपीति । अयं प्रतीक' पुरुषोत्तमाय नमः इत्यनन्तरं कर्तुमुचितः दर्पणेऽपि तथैवास्तीति (London I O. copy, fol. 1a, very beginning), संज्ञाशब्दत्वे नात्र व्युत्पत्तिरिति दर्पणः (fol. 2a) न च भावपददानं कल्पितं दर्पणे भावपदप्रक्षेपात् (fol. 6a *vide Līlāvatī*, p. 18), अत्र मीमांसकानामिति (*ib.*, p. 21) अर्थापत्तिरूपप्रमाणप्रदर्शनार्थमुक्तम् इति दर्पणः (7b), अत्र विशुद्धसन्ततिजत्वमिति मूले (p. 101) अत्र यद्यपि सर्गादाविदमव्यापकं तदा सन्ततेरभावात्तथापि ब्राह्मणत्वव्यवस्थापकासाधारणाध्यापनादिकमनेनोपलक्षितमिति दर्पणः (fol. 28b). The name of the author is not mentioned in any of these references but, as we have stated before, there was only one Darpanakāra known in Mithilā in the middle of the 15th century and he was undoubtedly Vaṭeśvara Upādhyāya

There is an anonymous work named *Upādhidarpana* preserved at Poona (B. O R. I. Ms. No 6 of 1898 99, foll. 9). It begins —

श्रीरामचन्द्रं शिरसा प्रणम्य गुरुं च यज्ञेश्वरमस्मदीयम् ।
उपाधिसामान्यविशेषलक्ष्यविनिर्णयोऽयं क्रियते गभीर ॥

The references are to Udayana (fol 2b, 5a), Varadarāja (2a), Vādīndra 6b वादीन्द्रास्तूपाधिदूषणमेव न भवतीति भणन्ति), Śivāditya Miśra (3a तर्हि साध्यसाधनसंबन्धव्यापकत्वे सति साधनाव्यापकत्वमिति शिवादित्यमिश्रोक्तमेवोपाधिलक्षणं भवतु) and Śrīdharācārya (3a). They prove that the author was fairly old and probably preceded Gaṅgeśa, as we are unable to trace any Gaṅgeśa-brand passage in the book. Moreover, Vaṭeśvara is not likely to suppress his name if he were the author of the book, as the title would tempt one to surmise.

Vaṭeśvara's passage, where he had criticised Gaṅgeśa was probably taken from the *Nibandhadarpana*. The following passage, which we traced in Sārvabhauma's *Maṇiparīkṣā*, is likely to be from the same source.

उच्यते । अवच्छेदकत्वमनेन रूपेण इदमिति प्रतीतिनियामक. स्वरूपसंबन्धः प्रतियोगित्ववत् । तदुक्तं दर्पणे—अवच्छेदकत्वं विशेषणताविशेष स चातिरिक्तः स्वरूपस्येत्यन्यदेतदिति (fol. 50a under the section on Viśeṣavyāpti,

B I, ed., pp. 156-57) It should be noticed that Sārvabhauma cited the extract in support of his own contention It appears that the intricate analysis of the term 'avacchedakatā', which subsequently culminated in the works of Śiromani and his followers, was first taken up by Vateśvara

Vateśvara's Age and Family Vateśvara must have been a leader of the Maithila community in his times In the following verse of the *Hariharasubhāsita* Vatesa has been held as an ideal Śrotriya, he adorned his scholarship by successful teaching and his riches by charities

विद्यामध्यापनैर्दानैर्वित्त नित्यमलङ्कुरु ।
पुरा कीर्त्तिर्वटेशादीनामिवेशामुनाध्वना ॥ (XII. 25)
(Prof R Jha's ed, p. 76)

He was a distinguished member of the Māndara family, which has for its first ancestor, as recorded in the *Pañjis*, one Narasimha with a very peculiar title तर्काचार्यास्त्रमहास्त्रविद्यापारग-महामहोपाध्याय proving that at that time (in the 12th century A.D.) some of the scholars at least had a kind of military training Vateśa was 7th in descent from this Narasimha But in an old Palm leaf copy of a *Śākhāpañji*, preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Library the genealogy of the Māndara family starts from one Trinayana Bhatta, about 15 generations before Narasimha (the leaf unfortunately is torn with many names lost) the antiquity of the family, one of the oldest in the whole of India, going back to about 600 A D Vateśa was the third son of his father M M Jagannātha and his maternal grandfather was one महत्तर्कविद्याधर belonging to a family named गडनिरतती Vateśvara himself had a numerous family and was closely connected with many distinguished families of Mithilā His date can be fairly fixed from reliable clues furnished by his family alliances, some of which we have examined elsewhere. His father was a contemporary of Gangeśa. This is confirmed by the following fact Vateśvara

was a close relative and contemporary of M. M Viśvanātha of the Sodarapurīa family, two of whose daughters were given in marriage to the eldest (Paśupati) and third son (Āṅgaṇi) of Vaṭeśvara by his first wife, while a daughter of Vateśvara was married to the third son (Ravinātha) of Viśvanātha. Now Viśvanātha's second wife (i e the mother of Ravinātha) was a daughter of Prītiśarmā of the Naronaye family, who again was an exact, if not a bit younger, contemporary of Bhavaśarma and consequently of Gaṅgeśa also For, Prītiśarma's mother's mother was the younger sister of Bhavaśarma's mother's mother Paśupati as we have stated under Yajñapati, was the latter's grandfather.

Vaṭeśvara's second son Raghupati had a son named Prajñāpati who married Kamalā the daughter of Maharaja Śivasiṅha's own sister According to the latest evidence Śivasiṅha was defeated by Ibrahim of Jaunpur in 1415-16 A D. (Bengal, Past and Present, LXVII, 1948, p 36 fn) and not earlier Śivasiṅha's sister's daughter was born say, in 1385 A D. at the earliest and her husband's grandfather Vateśvara was born not earlier than 1300 A D

Vateśvara's youngest son Surapati was the father of Viṣṇupurī's mother's mother. This also places the birth of Vateśvara not earlier than 1300 A D[1]

Vaṭeśvara's fifth son (i e. first son of his second wife) was Pakṣadhara, whose eldest son Mahīpati was the father of M M. Rucidatta's sister's husband Amarapati Even if we

1. Prof R Jha calculated Viṣnupurī's date from that of Śivasinha (Patna University Journal, offprint, pp 9 11). Taking 1416 A D as the date of Śivasinha's death, the birth of Surapati's daughter's daughter Maura should be 1400 A D and Vateśvara's birth cannot be placed before 1300 A D., even if we assume an interval of 120 years between the birth-dates of Vateśvara and his grand daughter (i e Surapati's daughter) Bhavano, the mother of the above-mentioned Maura

suppose that Amarapati was born in 1425 A.D. at the earliest, Vaṭeśvara's birth cannot take place before 1305 A.D. We conclude, therefore, that Vaṭeśvara was born in the first decade of the 14th century.

CHAPTER V

THE AGE OF FOUR M's

MĀDHAVA MIŚRA Son of the famous Jayadeva Miśra alias Paksadhara (q. v). He was also a M M. and probably wrote a work, where he defended his father against the arguments of Yajñapati's son Narahari and others of that group

MĀDHAVA MIŚRA Son of Gadādhara wrote a *Bheda-dīpikā* in refutation of Vedantic monism Pandit Ramanatha Tarkaratna of the Asiatic Society visited Tirhut in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. He came across a copy of this extremely rare book sometime in 1878-79 A D (L 1879 foll 60) and gave a good summary of it from which it appears that the author was well-read in the Vedānta The *Bhamati* the *Khandana* and the *Citsukhī* are among the works examined and refuted by him Two verses are reproduced here from the Report

य श्रीमती श्रीरपरा गदाधरा
दसूत शास्त्राम्बुधिपारदृश्वन ।
श्रीमाधवो न्यायमहार्णवीतटे
प्रवेश्य सिद्धान्तपथे स खेलति ॥
माधवेन हरिभक्तिभञ्जिता-
शेषकिल्विषभरेण तन्यते ।
भेदवर्त्मनि विवेकदीपिका
मायिमोहतिमिरापनुत्तये ॥

Fortunately the name of the author has been traced in the *Pañjis*. He belongs to a senior branch of the famous Sodarapura family, a common ancestor of which named Ratneśvara had three sons, M M. Haleśvara being the eldest one Mādhava's descent from him is as follows Haleśvara—Rāju—Yogīśvara—

Varāha—Rati—Hore—Gadādhara—M. M. Mādhava. He was thus three generations later than Śaṅkara Miśra of the same family, who was fifth in descent from the second son of Ratneśvara This Mādhava Miśra lived, therefore, in the middle of the 16th century A D, about a century after Śaṅkara Miśra. Mādhava Miśra, son of Jayadeva, was a generation earlier.

BHAGIRATHA THAKKURA An elder brother to Mahārajadhirāja Maheśa Thakkura was a celebrated logician of Mithilā. He completed his studies under Jayadeva at the age of twenty years. He commented upon the *Dravyaprakāśa*, the *Gunaprakāśa*, the *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa* and the *Līlāvatīprakāśa*. His works are either called *Prakāśikā* or *Jalada* or *Megha* after his nickname 'Megha' It is presumed tha Vardhamāna's *Prakāśas* on the *Nibandha*, the *Nyāyapariśista* and the *Ātmatattvaviveka* were not so much in use during Bhagīratha's time He read the *Prakāśa* on the last named work (cf *Līlāvatīmegha*, Baranasi ed. p. 9) but commented on the *Ātmatattvaviveka* (published in the Bibl Ind series) itself

Bhagiratha and Raghunātha Śiromani were contemporaries and lived in about 1500 A D. but did not see the works of each other His *Līlāvatyalada*, *Kusumāñjalyalada* and *Gunajalada* are mentioned in a list of books prepared in 430 L. S. (p 129) Again the *Dravyamegha* and the *Gunamegha* have similarly been mentioned in another list of 409 L S The lowest limit of his scholastic activities may thus be fixed in 1905 A. D

MAHEŚA THAKKURA One of the best scholiasts on the *Āloka* of Jayadeva. The *Darpana*, as his sub-commentary is named, seems to have extended to the first two parts of the book as no copy of the *Śabdālokadarpana* has yet been discovered The first section (Mangalavāda) of the *Pratyaksa* part has been published along with the *Āloka* and two other commentaries in the Sarasvati-Bhavana Texts. A

new edition of the *Āloka* and the *Darpaṇa* is being published from the Mithilā Institude. Maheśa read *Nyāya* with M. M. Śucikara Paṇḍita of the *Kujauli* family; this fact is stated in the introduction to a drama named *Ānandavijaya* by Śucikara's great-grandson M. M. Rāmadāsa Upādhyāya :—

तक्क पङ्कअ अकरुअ
करोत्तओ शुइ पण्डिओ ।
तीप सिक्ख महेश लक्ख-
नरेस आणइ मण्डिओ ॥
[तर्कपङ्कजार्करूप-करोत्तरः शुचिपण्डितः ।
तदीयशिष्यो महेशो लखनरेशानतिमण्डितः ॥]

This Nāṭikā was written for Sundara Ṭhākura, a grandson of Maheśa, and, therefore, it is stated afterwards in the Prastāvanā :—वहिं गुरुकुलतया पूजनीयोऽयं कविः सुन्दरनरेशस्य । It is not known if this Śucikara had written any book, but in a book-list dated 409 L. S. we found the name of a work 'Līlāvatī-Śuci', which may be a work of this Śucikara, a commentary on the *Nyāyalīlāvatī*.[1] There is evidence that Maheśa, probably after finishing his Nyāya studies, went to Vārāṇasi, where he read (Vedānta and Mīmāṅsā) with Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa. Rāmeśvara's grandson Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa wrote his family history in a Mahākāvya named *Gādhivaṅsānuvarṇanam* (*fragment now preserved in the Sarasvati Bhavana*). *In the* sixth *sarga* of the poem we find —

कश्चिच्च ठक्कुरमहेश इति प्रसिद्ध-
स्तच्छिष्य आस पृथुताकिकतैरभुक्तः ।
टीकां विधाय स तु पक्षधरोप्रचारं
चक्रे सुदुष्करमिदं प्रथमं किलान्यैः ॥ (v. 5, fol. 8b)

1 This Śucikara belonged to the *Bhakharauli* branch of the Kujauli family of Kātyāyana gotra. There was another Śucikara belonging to the *Govindavana* branch of the same family and his grandson Śaṅkara, author of the *Smṛtisudhākara* (composed in 1677 A.D.) stated that his grandfather was a renowned Naiyāyika.

As a result of his studies at Varanasi he formed a bias towards the Vedanta which was reflected in the following remarkable passage in the Anumana portion of the *Darpana* —तदेतत् सङ्क्षेपेण वेदान्तिमत लिखित न दूषित श्रुतिपुराणस्मृतिशिष्टानुशिष्टत्वात् । (cited by M M Dr Kaviraja in *S B S* III p 142) Mahesa's fame as a logician spread far and wide as proved by the interesting epithet (the great dialectician of Tirabhukta') used by Sankara Bhatta who was himself a leading scholar of Varanasi Moreover Annam Bhatta the famous polymath of South India wrote his commentary on the *Aloka* named *Siddhāñjana* after consulting previous glosses (on the *Aloka*) notably by the four great M's of Mithila—Megha Mahesa Madhusūdana and Madhava (R 1536) He has actually cited and refuted Mahesa s views (R 1537) Th s fame of Mahesa rested on his single work in logic viz the *Darpana* and it is not known that he had written any other book in *Nyaya* A thorough examination of the book is necessary for ascertaining Mahesa s position among contemporary scholars

The date of composition of the *Darpana* can be fairly fixed from the following evidence

(1) Sankara Bhaṭṭa has left clear chronological date in his family history Narayana Bhatta the eldest son of Ramesvara was born in Vaisakha 1435 Saka (early in 1513 A D) (V 6) The family removed from Vidyanagara to Dvaraka in the 4th year of Narayana whose Upanayana was performed there (V 16) Ramesvara settled at Kasi sometime after say in 1522 A (VI 1) His f rst d sciple at Kasi was a Konkana (VI 2) then two ascetics Damodara and Madhava Sarasvatī (VI 3) Mahesa's name is found in VI 5 and in the very next verse it is stated that a Gurjara pupil read the *Mahābhāṣya* along with Śrīdhara the second son of Ramesvara who was born on his way to Kasi (not earlier than 1521 A D) It is therefore probable that Mahesa read with him somet me bet

-ween 1530-35 A. D. and the *Darpaṇa* was written within 1535-40 A. D. very early in his literary career.

(2) According to genealogical works authentically preserved in Mithilā Maheśa was the youngest child of his parents —youngest of four brothers and six sisters. All his brothers were great prodigies viz. Mahādeva, (q. v) and Dāmodara, who composed their works within the first quarter of the century. At the end of his very first work the *Dravyaprakāśikā* Bhagīratha has mentioned the name of Maheśa, who was born, therefore, *just within 1500-10 A. D. and wrote the Darpaṇa* when his age was about 30 only.

(3) This agrees with the tradition that he went to the court of Rāṇī Durgāvatī of Garh Mandla, probably after the death of his immediate elder Dāmodara, who was patronised by Saṅgrāma Sāha (d. 1530 A. D.).

(4) The acquisition of the Darbhanga *Raj* by Maheśa is is dated in 1478 ('randhra-turaṅgama-śruti mahī') Śaka i e. *1556-57* A. D , when *his age was about 50 according to our* calculation.

(5) In his old age he abdicated the throne and most of his works on *Smṛti* were composed after abdication. For, in his *Tithitattvacintāmaṇi* he has referred to Raghunandana and Gopāla of Bengal (Ms. No 66 of the Mithilā Institute, fol. 9a - गौडरघुनन्दनगोपालप्रभृतयस्तु). Raghunandana wrote the *Jyotisatattva* (No 20 in the list of his works) *after* 1489 Śaka (1567 A. D.) Maheśa, therefore, must have written this treatise in the last quarter of the century. But the mention of Gopāla is a great puzzle, for both the smṛti writers of that name, the *Kaumudī*-kāra Siddhāntavāgīśa and the *Nirṇaya*-kāra Nyāyapañcānana were junior to Raghunandana and were living still in the first two decades of the 17th century. Probably the reference was to an earlier Gopāla. At any rate Maheśa becomes a contem-

porary at least of Raghunandana and his date of birth can never be placed before 1500 A. D

It should be mentioned here that the late Dr H P. Sastrī discovered a letter written by Maheśa to one 'Tārkikacūdamani', whom he took to be identical with the famous Raghunātha Śiromani This letter was exibited by him in the Asiatic Society in April 1907 (Proc A. S B p. lxxv) and was discovered in a book named *Vaivasvatasiddhānta* written in 1529 A D (*Ind Ant* 1912 p 9) The letter has been published in vol X of the Des Cat. of the Society (p 235) Dr. Śastri's conjecture about the identity of the person (Maheśa Śarman) who wrote the letter is entirely wrong The letter was written in the Bengali script, and though not dated is somewhat later than the manuscript of the work (named *Jyotihsārasāgara* composed in 1450 Saka, *Vivasvatasiddhāntasāra* being only a part) The author of the work (Gaurīnātha of the Mukherji family) and all the persons referred to in the letter including Maheśa undoubtedly belonged to Bengal Maheśa Thakkura of Mithilā could never be supposed to have identified himself so immediately with the family of a Bengali scholar There is absolutely no evidence that he was a pupil of Śiromani or Cūdāmani of Bengal The very idea of a Maithila pupil taking lessons from a Bengali scholar was quite unthinkable at that period

MADHUSŪDANA THAKKURA might be regarded as the greatest Nyāya scholar of Mithilā in the first half of the 16th century A D The first section (Mangalavāda) of his masterpiece the *Kantakoddhāra* has been published (*Tattvacintāmani* with Comm , S B Texts, 1939) In the third introductory verse he has boldly stated that his able arguments have removed all thorns in the *Āloka* and the *Mani* and in the fourth verse he proudly advertised his scholarship in eight different branches of literature (Nyāya, Vaiśesika,

Mīmāṅsā, Vedānta, Mahābhāṣya, Kāvya, Dharmaśāstra and Mantraśāstra). That it is not a mere idle boast will be apparent even from a study of the small printed portion of his work. His masterly elaboration of Mīmāṅsā doctrines (pp. 60-64, 94-103, 141-45) and his quotations from Śrīdatta (p 40), *Nyāyamahārṇava* (p. 41), *Mahābhāṣya* (p. 42), *Dravyaprakāśa* (p. 60), Vaṭeśvara (p. 37, 67, 175), *Uddyota* (p. 67, 119) and his own father (p. 34, 37, 76, 183) as well as his frequent refutations of previous glosses of unnamed scholars are some of the exceptional features of his performance. Unfortunately the printed portion forms only a hundredth part of his whole work. We add, therefore, brief notes on the unpublished parts.

The first part of the *Kaṇṭakoddhāra* ends with the colophon : इति महामहोपाध्याय-सट्ठक्कुरश्रीमधुसूदनकृतकण्टकोद्धारे प्रत्यक्षखण्डः परिपूर्णः (fol 120a of A. S. Ms. No. G. 1439, dated 491 L. S., copied at Vikramapura in Mithilā). The copy extends from the Prāmāṇyavāda to the end. We traced three references to Pragalbha (4a, 12b & 16a) and an interesting one to an unknown scholar (20b : कल्पकम्मन्यास्तु""तद्चातुर्यम). We quote one remarkable passage (fol. 58b) :—अनुगतं वैशिष्टयमिति मूलम् (p. 653 under Samavāyavāda).

ननु—

वैशिष्ट्ये यदि वैशिष्ट्यं तदा स्यादनवस्थितिः ।
अथ तत्र न वैशिष्ट्यं तदा स्यादनवस्थितिः ॥

वैशिष्ट्ये तदभावोऽपि वैशिष्ट्येनैव निर्वहेत् ।
तदन्तरेण नाभावे वैशिष्ट्यं हि त्वयेष्यते ॥

तथा च कथमेतदिति चेत्—मैवम् । There are two fragments of this part at Tanjore (Foll. 27 and 131 : *vide Tanjore Cat.*, pp. 453–437). The colophon cited (p. 4537) from the larger fragment (fol. 126, at the end of the section on Sannikarṣa) is extremely important. According to it Madhu-

sūdana wrote this commentary under the patronage of one 'Mahārājādhirāja' Rāmarāja described, among others, as 'Karṇāṭaka Cakravartī'. The identification of this monarch is a great puzzle, there was no paramount king of that name in South India in the 16th century A. D as far as we are aware We shall discuss the point later on In a Darbhanga copy of this part (No p. 321, foll 94) the author refers to his own invincibility thus (verse 2)

वादीन्द्रमानमातङ्गसूदने मधुसूदने ।
वादिन्यादीयतान्नैव सुधा पश्चान्तरं बुधा: ॥

There are two copies of the second (*Anumāna*) part in the Asiatic Society (Nos G. 1444, foll 174 and G. 1572, foll 142) both incomplete towards the end It begins with the third verse of the first part Madhusūdana is commonly believed in Mithilā to have successfully controverted the views of Siromani of Bengal. This tradition is partially correct There are eight passages in this part where Madhusūdana has cited and refuted 'Gauda' views (No 1572, fol 21a, 23a, 28b, 31a, 71b 81a, 91b & 103b) Of these the second quotation is the well known definition of the term Vyāpti technically known as कूटघटित originally formulated by Sārvabhauma (*Anumānamaṇiparīkṣā*, fol. 14) and included among the famous 'fourteen definitions' of Śiromani Here Madhusūdana also cited and refuted a passage of Pragalbha (fol. 23a) The next passage runs — तथा च साध्यवदवृत्तिसकलपदार्थाभाववत्त्व यदधिकरणताया अन्यूनवृत्ति तत्त्वं फलितमिति गौडव्याख्यानमप्यपास्त वेदितव्यम् (fol 28b) The passage exactly occurs in Śiromani at the very beginning of the Pūrvapaksa section of Vyāptivāda. It is an original explanation of Siromani and not borrowed from Sārvabhauma or Pragalbha. As far as we are aware Madhusūdana was the first among Maithila scholars to quote from Śiromani. The long passage quoted in the section on Tarka (fol. 71b) is also taken from Siromani, who under the heading केचित् put in a nutshell various

comments on the point found in Sārvabhauma (fol 63-65) The remaining five passages cannot be traced in Śiromaṇi, Sārvabhauma or Pragalbha and were evidently cited from other Gauḍa scholars, whose names and works were lost during Śiromaṇi's great mastery The ending verses and colophon of this part is cited below from a Palm-leaf copy preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Library.

इति कल्याणमस्तु मे ॥

आलोकमुक्तै सुमणौ निबद्धैः
शुद्धैः सुवर्णैरनुरञ्जिता या ।
सा *रामभूपस्य* बुधोत्तमाना-
माकल्पमाकल्पतु कीर्तिरेषा ॥

मधुसूदनेन यन्नान्मीमांसान्यायपारगेन कृत' ।
सुचिरं सुखयतु सुजनानालोके कण्टकोद्धार ॥

कृतिमेतामनभ्यस्य मदीयामनसूयया ।
मणौ यः पण्डितम्मन्यः स शोच्यः पशुपालवत् ॥

इति महाराजाधिराजकार्णाटचक्रवर्तिभुजबलभीम — समस्तदिग्विजयार्जित-सम्पत्सन्तोषितनिखि(ल)भूमण्डलश्रीरामराजकारिताया महामहोपाध्यायसट्ठक्कुरश्रीमधु-सूदनकृतावनुमानालोककण्टकोद्धारः सम्पूर्णमिति ॥ ल सं ४२६ फाल्गुनशुक्लाष्टम्या-मध्ययनशालिना श्रीभवदेवशर्मणा भौरग्रामेऽपूरीदमिति ॥ The scribe happens to be a grandson of the famous Bhagīratha Thakkura, the elder brother of Maheśa Ṭhakkura. The author's extra-ordinary confidence about his own ability is reflected in the last verse. It should be carefully noted that this valuable copy gives the author's patron the important epithet 'Karnāṭa-Cakravartī' found in the Tanjore copy and it is a clue to the identity of the unknown monarch, who evidently belonged to the famous 'Karṇāta' family of Nānyadeva and not to the Karṇāṭa country. It is our conjecture that after the overthrow of the last 'Oinwara' monarch Laksmīnātha Kaṅsanārāyaṇa about 1526 A. D. and before Maheśa Ṭhakkura acquired the kingdom of

Mithilā in 1556 A D. there was confusion in Mithilā for about 30 years when many distinguished scholars left Mithilā to seek foreign patronage For sometime at least a scion of the long lost Kārnata' family might have taken the reins of Government in Mithila and under this monarch named Rāmarāja Madhusūdana wrote his monumental work somewhere within 1525-40 A D If it were written in a 'foreign' land Madhusūdana would not have failed to refer to his Maithila origin in the colophon

The last part (*Śabda*) is preserved at Darbhanga Raj Library in three different fragments constituting the whole The first portion (Ms No P 110, foll 148, up to Vidhivada) begins as usual with the verse मधुसूदनसद्युक्ति—&c. The next portion (No P 981 foll 81) is on Apūrvavāda and the last portion (No 97, foll 72) goes to the very end closing with the verse मधुसूदनेन यत्नात् &c with the usual colophon, without however the mention of the patron's name as found at the end of the first two parts Perhaps the reign of Rāmarāja had ended by that time,' though the non-mention of the patron's name should be confirmed from other copies The Varanasi copy (S B. Studies, III, pp 155-6) also seems to omit the patron s name

Madhusūdana composed a commentary named *'Jirnoddhāra'* on the Smrti work *Samayapradīpa* of Śrīdatta (Ms No P 326 foll 43, dated 1652 Śaka) and another on Vācaspati's *Dvaitanirnaya* (*vide* L 1853 foll, 121, named *'Jirnoddhāra'*). We examined the A S copy (No G. 1589 foll 107, called *-Prakāśa*) of the latter It was written after *Śabdakantakoddhāra* (mentioned in fol 31a) and after the *Samayapradīpa-jirnoddhāra* (fol 86a) He refers once to his own *Sāradātikā* (fol 15a) Partly due to maturity of age and partly also to the nature of the subject Madhusūdana's style is distinctly more sober here He does not, moreover, refer to his royal

patron, whose connection with the great scholar must have been short lived. We quote an interesting passage where the view-points of the Nyāya and the Smrti are contrasted न हि तर्कशास्त्र इव धर्मशास्त्रेऽपि पामरादिपुरुषशक्तिनिरूपणाय न्यायारम्भोऽपि तु धर्माधर्मनिर्णयायैवेति (fol. 38a).

Madhusudana's age and family Madhusūdana belonged to one of the premier Śrotriya families of Mithilā named Ghusota' of the Vatsa-gotra He was the *seventh* son of his parents and his father was Govinda Thakkura, the celebrated author of the *Kāvyapradīpa* and *Pujapradipa* Madhusūdana has quoted many passages of his father in the *Kantakoddhara* as well as the *Jirnoddhāra* (fol. 106a), proving that his father was also a scholar of the Nyaya and the Smrti in both of which he must have given lessons to his pupils though it is doubtful if he had actually written any works on the two subjects. Madhusūdana s date is quite beyond any dispute now. It can be fixed from the following evidences In the first place his elder brother Devanātha the fifth son of Govinda wrote one work in 400 L. S and his last work in 1486 Saka (1564 A D.) at a very old age Taking Madhusūdana to be about 6 years younger to Devanātha his date of birth would be about 1500 A D So that he was an exact peer in age of Maheśa Thakkura. As a matter of fact the *Darpana* and the *Kantakoddhara* do not refer to each other, as far as can be ascertained In the first flush of youthful zeal Madhusūdana must have wielded his powerful pen somewhere between 1525 35 A.D to combat the opponents of the *Āloka* both of Mithilā and Bengal. In a book-list dated 430 L S. (i e within 1540 50 A D) the mention of the *Pratyaksa Kantakoddhāra* (see p. 129 above) proves that the book already circulated in Bengal in 1540 A D. This is confirmed by the following fact Madhusūdana's mother was a daughter of Mahopādhyaya Vacaspati of the Māndara family, a first cousin of the famous Yajñapati Upādhyāya In other words she was a sister of Narahari. A

copy of the *Pūjāpradīpa* was transcribed in 432 L S. at the request of Madhusūdana (preserved at Darbhanga)

Madhusudana's eminence Madhusūdana, more than any other scholar of his age in Mithilā, was recognized as an authority in other lands. Besides the famous Annam Bhatta of South India he has been quoted by name in the *Vyākarana-Siddhāntasudhānidhi* of Viśveśvara (Varanasi ed , pp. 58 & 69) and in the *Nyāyasiddhāntamālā* of Jayarāma (S B , Text, p 161) Moreover, it is our conjecture that one of the great est scholars of Bengal Gunānanda Vidyāvāgīśa was a student of this Madhusūdana For, in one of his works the *Sabdāloka-viveka* he referred to his professor thus (Ms No 366 of the Sarasvatī-Bhavana)

मधुसूदनसद्व्याख्यासुधाक्षालितचेतसा ।
गुणानन्देन कृतिना शब्दालोको विविच्यते ॥

This echoes Madhusūdana's opening verse in all the parts of his work. Gunānanda was a contemporary of Bhavānanda and flourished in the last half of the 16th century A D. His pupilage under a Maithila scholar, if true is a fact of supreme importance in Bengal s relation with Mithilā, which continued to attract superior scholars from Bengal even after the great mastery of Śiromani.

M M MĀDHAVA MIŚRA One of the last great Navyanyāya scholars of Mithilā who had written regular and expansive commentaries on the *Āloka.* He was the last of the four great M's of Mithilā, whose names are respectfully mentioned by the great Annam Bhatta of South India at the beginning of the latter's *Ālokatīkā* named *Siddhāñjana* (Madras copy R. 1536, verse 5)

मैथी महेशमधुसूदनमाधवादे-
व्याख्या [illegible] ।

सिद्धाञ्जन मणिविलोकनलालसाना·
मालोकमार्गगमिनामहमातनिष्ये ॥

Annam Bhaṭṭa who consulted all the four great authorities upon the *Āloka* evidently mentioned their names in the chronological order Mādhava therefore, came last of all and this is confirmed by internal evidence

As far as we are aware there is only one copy of the first part of Mādhava's commentary now preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Library This unique Ms in palm leaves (Ms No 130, foll 204) is unfortunately incomplete towards the end It goes up to the end of the section on Anyathākhyāti and stops in the next sentence upon the original text of Gangesa (B I ed p 538) Madhava calls himself a satkavi and this is amply borne out by the elegant verses at the beginning of this part which are fully reproduced below

धारा स्नेहसुधारसस्य बहुधा माङ्गल्यदीपाङ्कुरा
विस्तीर्णा विषमायुधेनवणिजा वीथीषु रत्नच्छटा ।
(प)श्लेषो पुरवैरिकोपदहनालीढस्य जीवातव·
श्रीराधामधुवैरिणोरनुदिन पुष्णन्तु दम्भद्रय ॥१

अकाण्डभवताण्डवस्खलदमन्दमन्दाकिनी
प्रवाहकुहरक्वणड्डमरुडिण्डिमाडम्बर ।
मम त्रिपुरनागरीनयननीरकल्लोलिनी
विगाहनकुतूहली दिशतु भव्यमव्याहतम् ॥२

श्रीगोपालादधिगतदृढन्यायसिद्धान्तसारो
विद्योदारो दिनकरगुरौ ज्यायसि प्रौढभक्ति ।
शास्ता विद्वत्पटलमुकुटश्रीकरश्रीहरीणा
न्यायायाम्भोधौ गुरुरिव गुरु सोंतर कर्णधार ॥३

देवकीचरणाम्भोजभ्रमरीभूतमौलिना
श्रीमाधवेन क्रियते प्रत्यक्षालोकदीपिका ॥४

अतच्छाम्भोरुहा मम य(दि च)वाचो गुरुगिरा-
ममूपामासङ्गात्तदपि दधते कामपि रुचम् ।
विभूति श्रीशम्भोरुरसि मसृणाङ्गारमलिना
न कि धत्ते गोरीकुचकलसपाटीरपदवीम् ॥५

निगूढभा(वगम्भीर)पदवि(न्यास)बन्धुरम् ।
मदुक्तं यौवतञ्चैव पुष्णाति विदुषा मन ॥६

प्रसङ्गादिति—शिष्यशिक्षाप्रयोजनकमङ्गलनिबन्धनेन स्मृतस्य शिष्याणामन-वधेयवचनत्वशङ्कयोपेक्षानर्हत्वादित्यर्थ । The small portion we had examined of this book proves that a vast literature had grown up round the *Āloka* of Jayadeva and Mādhava has cited passages from many authors, whose works are now lost There are several passages from a 'Gauda' (fol. 48, 158 etc), of which the first passage is from Śiromaṇi. The *Dūṣaṇoddhara* (of Narahari) is cited in the section on *Prāmāṇya* (fol 49), we have actually traced it in the *Pratyakṣadūṣaṇoddhāra* (London I O copy, fol. 20b) Several passages are cited from 'Gurukaraṇa' (i.e his father and teacher Khāntara Miśra fol. 49, 194 etc). But by far the largest number of quotations are from Upādhyāya (i e Yajñapati) almost on every page from folio 1. We shall specially refer to a passage, which probably refers to the *Darpana* of Maheśa, who is curiously called by the contemptuous epithet 'unreasonable' *निर्युक्तिकस्तु* नान्यथेत्यादिकारणतामधिकृत्य सहचारमाद्यकत्वविचार. 'अपि तु स्वरूपसबन्धरूपा कारणतामधिकृत्य "इत्येकमेव मिलितनिषेधात्मकं साध्यमित्याह। तन्न। (fol. 4) This substantially agrees with Maheśa's views (*Ālokadarpana*, S. B. Text, pp 17-18)

There is a complete copy of the *Anumāna* part of Mādhava's work, cited by himself under the name of *Anumānā-lokaprakāśa* in the former part (fol 3-4), in the Sarasvati Mahal Library of Tanjore (*Des Cat.* pp 4523-24). There is no opening verse It ends (fol. 293)

ये वाञ्छन्ति मुकुन्दसिन्धुरपतेरुद्दामविद्वद्गण-
शौढाहङ्कृतिशातनेन कदलीकोपानुकारं यशः ।
श्रीमन्माधवसत्कवेर्हरपदाम्भोजैकतानात्मन-
स्तस्येयं कृतिरुज्ज्वला विजयतामाचन्द्रतारोदयम् ॥

सत्त्वः स्वभावशुद्धो मलिनामपि सत्कृतिं भजते ।
किं न मुदे मदिराढ्याः मृगमदकरीपरीरम्भः ॥

इति महामहोपाध्याय-श्रीमाधवकृतानुमानालोकदीपिका संपूर्णा । समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ।
The manuscript is dated 1632 V. S. 'Aṣāḍha-Sudi 6 Some'—this corresponds regularly to June 13, 1575 A.D. Monday. It was transcribed at the instance of Viśvanātha Tīrtha (probably of Varanasi, author of a commentary named *Komalā* on Saśdhara's *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*) The colophon proves that Mādhava did not comment on the last part of the *Āloka*. The most important fact stated in the ending verse is that Mādhava became famous by vanquishing the proud scholars of the court of Gajapati Mukunda, evidently the last great independent monarch of Orissa. Mukunda reigned from about 1552 A.D. to 1568 A.D. when he was defeated by the Sultan of Bengal. Mukundadeva's name is mentioned in the *Saccaritamīmāṅsā* of Vidyānivāsa composed in 1480 Śaka (1558 A.D.) (*Vide Vaṅge Navyanyāyacarcā*, p. 69 & 75). Mādhava, therefore, must have composed this work about 1555 A.D., probably before Maheśa Ṭhakkura (whom he had characterised as 'unreasonable') acquired the kingdom of Mithilā. The date of the transcricript (1575 A.D.) also points to the same conclusion. The author's triumph as a debater and a scholiast is further confirmed by Annam Bhaṭṭa, who mentioned his name in his own comentary.

Mādhava's family: Mādhava Miśra's name has been traced in the *Pañjīs* of Mithilā. He belongs to the famous Sodarapura family, whose celebrity is considerably enhanced by the discovery of his name and that of his father there. His

name is found in the 'Kataka' branch of the family and his descent is as follows. Ratneśvara's second son was M. M. Sureśvara, the common ancestor of many distinguished scholars. The branch of Sureśvara's family runs M. M. Sureśvara—M. M. Viśvanātha — Ratinātha — Dālu—Aphela—Divākara—'Prabhākarāparanāmaka—M M Khāntara'—M. M Mādhava —Mahopādhyāya Bhagīratha This Mādhava is, therefore, one generation later than his namesake (the son of Jayadeva) and the author of the *Āloka*, on which he commented, was his grand-uncle It was for this reason probably that Mādhava expressed his contempt for Maheśa Ṭhakkura, who belonged to a different family This Mādhava like many distinguished scholars of Mithilā was equally famous in Smṛti, in which he wrote a book named *Divyadīpikā*. A copy of it is preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Library (*vide* Mithilā Mss , Vol. I, pp 225-26). One of the charming opening verses is cited below

श्रीगोपालगुरोर्गिरो गुरुतरा मुक्ता इवाम्भोनिधे-
रादाय द्विजभूषणेन गुरुणा श्रीखाँतरेणार्पिता ।
लब्धा दिव्यरसायणाधिकरसा प्राप्तप्रबोधोदयै-
र्दिव्याना विषयो विधेयचतुरैः श्रीमाधवैरुद्धृता ॥

KEŚAVA MIŚRA TARKĀCĀRYA author of a commentary on the original *Nyāyasūtras* named *Gautamīyasūtraprakāśa*. There is a copy in palm leaves (Ms No. 52, foll. 92) preserved in Raj Library, Darbhanga. It is unfortunately wanting in the beginning and the end. In the Asiatic Society there is a copy of scattered leaves (Ms No 3105, 24 leaves in total), containing, however, the first leaf, full of lacunas and the last

It begins [प्राणान्] कृशोदरीणां [राधा]नयनान्तसर्वस्वम् ।
तेजस्तमालनील [शरणागतवज्रपञ्जर वन्दे] ॥
भास्ते यद्यपि पूर्वपण्डितकृता व्याख्यैव संख्याव[ता-
मानन्दाय तथापि केशवकवेर्वाचामिय गुम्फना ।]

The valuable end and colophon run · (fol. 15b)

उमापतिसगर्भस्य श्रीविश्वधरजन्मनः ।
श्रीमत्केशवमिश्रस्य कृतिर्विजयतेतराम् ॥

श्रीकेशवेन व्यरचि प्रबन्धः पूर्णानि विश्वान्यपि यद्यशोभिः ।
शिष्यैर्यदीयैश्च परःसहस्रैः पारेसमुद्रानपि भूषिता भूः ॥

नमामि सज्जनान् प्रीत्या न तु भीत्यापि दुर्जनान् ।
सज्जनः सानुबन्धश्चेत् दुर्जनः किं करिष्यति ॥

इति महामहोपाध्यायतर्काचार्यवेदान्तव्यासश्रीकेशवमिश्रकृते गौतमसूत्रप्रकाशे पञ्चमोध्यायः समाप्तः ॥४३।२४॥

The total number of Sūtras is thus recorded at the end: I. 40+20=60/II. 68+68=136/III. 69+73=142/IV. 68+49=117/V. 43+24=67. After this there are three figures 60/5/22. The number of Sūtras totalling 522 is lesser than the earlier standard versions. This copy on paper belonging to one Gopī Bhaṭṭa is very old, but the Darbhanga copy is older still. The title 'Tarkācārya' is not found in the Darbhanga copy, where at the end of the first chapter the following important colophon occurs:

तोरभुक्तिमहीपाल-परिषन्मौल्यसूरिणा ।
श्रीकेशवकवीन्द्रेन कृता सूत्रप्रकाशिका ।

इति महामहोपाध्याय-वेदान्तव्यासश्रीकेशवमिश्रकृते गौतमसूत्रप्रकाशे प्रथमोध्यायः । ल सं ४२४ ।

It is also recorded at the end of II. 1 that the author taught both Nyāya and Vedānta at Kāśī:

सुखेनाध्यापयन् काश्यां न्यायवेदान्तदर्शने ।
श्रीकेशवकविश्चक्रे न्यायसूत्रप्रकाशनम् ॥

It was apparently due to his residence at Varanasi that his fame as a teacher of more than one thousand pupils reached the

shore of the ocean. The following two notes found in the fifth chapter of the book prove that he had previously written a treatise named *Tarkatāndava* अनाधिक्यं च तत्सर्वं दर्शितं तर्कताण्डवे (fol. 23a) यथा च सङ्करजात्यनन्तर्भावौ तथा प्रपञ्चितं तर्कताण्डवे (fol. 34b).

Fortunately the author has clearly mentioned the name of the family to which he belonged as well as the particular branch of it, in another treatise named *Sankhyāparimāṇam* (Ms No. 43-2 of the Darbhanga Raj Library, foll. 31). Verses 4-5 at at the begining of this work run —

तीरभुक्तिमहीपालपरिषन्मुख्यसूरिणा ।
श्रीकेशवकवीन्द्रेण निबन्धोऽय विधीयते ॥
सख्यामानगुरुत्वादेर्विधायकनिषेधके ।
श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणादौ वाक्ये स्पष्टीकरोम्यहम् ॥

तत्रादौ मूलपरिभाषा

It ends प्राड्विवाकागते वित्ते याजनाद्यागते तथा ।
कायक्लेश(ग)ते पुस कोऽपि दोषो न विद्यते ॥

इति महामहोपाध्याय-कटकवासिसोदरपुरकमलदिवाकर-मिश्रश्रीकेशवकृतसख्या-परिमाणपुस्तक समाप्तम् ॥

In the *Pañjis* the name of the author has been traced exactly in the *Kataka* branch of the famous Sodarapura family. The genealogy is as follows M M. Viśvanātha—Ratnātha—Miśra Dālu—Miśra Gadādhara—Mahopādhyāya Viśo (3rd. son)—Mahopādhyāya Keśava. He had four sons and his wife's name was Śobhā He was thus a second cousin of Khāntara Miśra (q v) and two generations later than Śankara Miśra. He must have written his works about 1525 A.D and was the leading scholar evidently at the court of Mahārāja Lakṣmīnātha Kansanārāyana of Mithilā, the last monarch of the Oinwara dynasty. His name, therefore, is one more addition to the list of the galaxy of scholars belonging to the Sodarapura

family that shed lustre on the cultural history of Mithilā for several centuries.

DEVANĀTHA ṬHAKKURA, TARKAPAÑCĀNANA: a renowned author of Mithilā, better known as the 'Sapta-kaumudīkāra'. The names of these 'seven' *Kaumudīs* are —

1. *Adhikaraṇakaumudī* on Mīmāṁsā as applied to the Dharmaśāstra (Varanasi ed , *1926*, pp 62).
2. *Kālakaumudī* on Smṛti (*vide* Mithilā Mss , Vol. I, p. 54, foll. 70)
3. *Kāvyakaumudī* on Rhetorics. (Peterson's 3rd Rep.)
4. *Tantrakaumudī* written in 1486 Śaka (1564-5 A. D.)[1].
5. *Mantrakaumudī* written in 400 L. S.
6. *Siddhāntakaumudī* (cited in No 1, p. 6)
7. *Smṛtikaumudī* (published in Mithilā Granthamālā up to p. 144). None of these works, however, belong to Navyanyāya in which he is known to have composed a work named *Ālokapariśiṣṭa*. A copy of this rare book was discovered at Dinajpur in Bengal (H. P. Śāstrī. *Notices*, III, pp. 74-5, foll 143), it was transcribed at the request of the author himself (महामहाठक्कुरश्रीदेवनाथमहाशयानुशासनात्) in 443 L. S. (चैत्रबदि एकादश्यां चन्द्रे) There is a copy preserved at Poona (B O. R. I., No. 310 of 1880 81 foll. 1-42, 48-105). It begins —

रामेण दाशरथिनाधिसभं पिनाक-
ढाङ्कारशङ्कररवे जनकात्मजाया: ।
पातु प्रमोदभवखेलदनङ्गरङ्ग-
माकस्मिकस्मितसमुल्लसितः कपोल ॥१

1. The date 'Śaka 1486' at the end of a copy in Assamese bark (in possession of the present writer) is certainly that of composition as the copy itself is not so old The date of the *Mantrakaumudī* is thus recorded in copies of 436 and 442 L S (examined by Prof R. Jha) —शब्दे लक्ष्मणसेनस्य वियच्छून्याब्धिलक्षिते । The reading वियद्रस्यब्धि (Mithilā Mss , II, Introd , p 4) seems to be wrong

देवनाथेन गोविन्दचरणाम्बुजसेविना ।
चिन्तामणौ यदालोके परिशिष्टं तदुच्यते ॥२

करणस्येति । अनुमितिकरणस्यानुमानत्वेन तस्य जानित्वाभावादित्यर्थः । यत्तु व्याप्तिज्ञानत्वेन करणत्वमेव नेति—तन्न ।

It should be noticed that unlike the present copy where the author proves himself an worshipper of Rāma and Sītā the Dinajpur copy makes him a devotee of Śiva, though the 2nd introductory verse is the same in both. The first passage is from the *Āloka*. It ends with a long note on a passage of the *Upamāna* part, which no other scholar of Mithilā (except the versatile Gokulanātha) ever touched

मूले योपलक्षणेति ।...मूले सामान्यतो दृष्टस्येति.. इत्यलं विस्तरेण ।
पक्षपातमनालम्ब्य विलम्ब्य गुरुगौरवम् ।
देवनाथो यथावस्तु परिशिष्टमचिन्तयत् ॥

इति श्रीतत्त्वचिन्तामण्यालोकपरिशिष्टेऽनुमानोपमानपरिच्छेदः ॥ Devanātha has recorded many important facts about himself and his father. He was the fifth son of his father (गोविन्दपञ्चमसुतो विदितो जगत्याम्, *Mantrakaumudī*, v. 7, *Tantrakaumudī* v. 4) When the *Mantrakaumudī* was written in 400 L. S. (not later than 1519 A. D.) his father was alive (गोविन्द एव भुवने विदितो चकास्ति v. 3). He must then have been quite young, for he states at the end of the book :—

स्वगौरवेण कर्तव्या नोपेक्षात्र मनीषिभिः ।
मनुराह यतो ग्राह्यं बालादपि सुभाषितम् ॥

He has given his genealogy from Ravikara (v. 3) and described *his father as well-versed in Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta and Nyāya* . (v. 4).

मीमांसामर्थवार्य यः सदसद्यामद्धा विवेके गुरुः
यो वेदान्तविचारधारचरिते सिद्धान्तवाचस्पतिः ।

आचार्योऽपि विचार्यते यदवधिर्नैयायिको वा न वा
गोविन्दोऽयमखण्डमण्डलयशश्चन्द्रो जगत्प्रासवान् ॥

At the end also his father is extolled as wedded to Lady Logic -

यस्तर्कतन्त्ररमणीकमनीयकान्तो
गोविन्द एप भुवने विदित सुकीर्ति ।

There cannot be any doubt therefore that Devanātha (and his younger brother Madhusūdana) read Nyāya with his own father and the 'Gurucarana' mentioned in the *Ālokapariśista* evidently refers to his own father In the *Adhikaranakaumudī* Devanātha mentions a separate teacher named Soma Bhaṭṭa, who seems to have been a non-Maithila scholar possibly of Varanasi At the end of the *Tantrakaumudī* he advertised his all round scholarship, just like his brother Madhusūdana, as follows —

मीमासास्मृतितर्कतन्त्रकवितालङ्कारकोपागम-
ज्योतिर्वेदपुराणभारतमतिर्यस्तर्कपञ्चानन ।
देवोऽसौ कमतेश्वर क्षितिपतिस्त देवनाथ चिरात्
सप्राप्य स्वयमादरेण विदधे विद्वन्मुदे कौमुदीम् ॥

Here we are confronted with the problem of his patronage by the king of Kamatā, which is identical with the kingdom of Kuchvihara. Devanātha distinctly says in the colophon that the book was written at the request of Malladeva Naranārāyana, who reigned from 1555 to 1587 A. D. The colophon runs — इति समस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमानमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमल्लदेवनरनारायणकारिताया महामहोपाध्यायतर्कपञ्चाननश्रीदेवनाथकृताया तन्त्रकौमुद्या पद्धतिपरिच्छेद समाप्त । शाक १४८६ ॥ (fol 100) The date of composition (*1564-5* A. D.) falls in the first decade of the reign, proving that Devanātha came to Kuchvihara soon after the coronation of Malladeva in 1555 A D. The *Tantrakaumudī* also states that before he came to Kuchvihara he had enjoyed the patronage of another monarch Gajapati Govindadeva —

एतन्मूलकमेव—

सवत्सरद्वयेऽतीते वर्जितोर्जादिपञ्चक ।

षष्ठोमासोऽधिमास स्यात् स्त्रीबालैरपि गण्यताम् ॥

इति परमानन्दठक्कुरवचनम् । इद च कस्याचिदयनस्थितौ सवाद्यपि न नियवम्— अस्मिन्नेव एकत्रिंशदधिकषोडशशताङ्किते १६३१ शककाले वैशाखो मलमास ॥ (fol. 8a of Ms No 592 of the Mithilā Institute) Gokulanātha's statement is correct as there was actually a Malamāsa in Vaiśākha in the year 1631 Śaka corresponding to 1709 A D. falling in the reign of Mādhava Simha.

Among the 13 professors mentioned in the above mentioned declaration only Gokulanātha is specially panegyrized in the following words ये हि सकलसिद्धान्त युक्त्या खण्डयत शिरोमणेर्मानमपनेतु सिद्धान्ततत्त्वप्रभृतीन् न्यायनिबन्धनान् बहुश प्रणीतवन्त सर्वसिद्धान्तदीक्षागुरवो भूमौ व्यराजन् (lines 8 10) Gokulanātha rose to be the Supreme Head of the University of Mithilā, so to speak, making decisions on all conceivable subjects The greatest literary achievement of Gokulanātha was his attempt to discredit Śiromani, the great refuter by arguments of all previous decisions and he wrote many works like the *Siddhāntatattva* to that end This statement of his grandson is important for the history of Navyanyāya in Mithilā and as we shall presently see, is substantially correct.

NYĀYA WORKS OF GOKULANĀTHA Among all the branches of Sanskrit literature mastered by Gokulanātha the hardest nut cracked by him was of course Navyanyāya, which had already reached the final stage of development in the hands of Gadādhara of Bengal (1604-1709 A. D) about a generation before Gokulanātha In the final colophon to his work on Smrti named *Kundakādamvari* (Ms at Raj Library, Darbhanga) Gokulanātha's title is recorded as Mahamahopādhyāya Śattarkapañcānana' (i e a lion in all the six divisions of dialectics), a true description of his invincible career as a dialectition. Among his works on Navyanyāya the following have been so far discovered

(1) *Cakraraśmi*—commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*
(2) *Dikkālanirūpana*—Ms Raj Library, Darbhanga
(3) *Didhitividyota*—com. on Raghunātha's *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti*
(4) *Kusumāñjalitippana.*
(5) *Khandanakuthāra*—Ms Raj Library, Darbhanga
(6) *Lāghavagauravarahasya.*
(7) *Mithyātvanirukti*
(8) *Nyāyasiddhantatattva.*
(9) *Padavākyaratnākara*
(10) *Śaktivāda.*

GIRIDHAROPĀDHYĀYA The chance discovery of a single manuscript and the enterprise of an eminent logician of Mithilā Jīvanātha Miśra Tarkatirtha Nyāyaratna[1] are responsible for the publication of the *Vibhaktyarthanirnaya* (Chowkh ed, 1902, pp 477), one of the best books on the subject ever written in India A cousin and pupil of the great Gokulanātha of Mangroni, the author treated the subject in such a masterly way both from the grammarian's and logician's point of view that even Gokulanātha must have yielded his palm to him in many places When Giridhara wrote, say, about 1720 A D the most glorious period of Navadvīpa has definitely ended with the death of Gadādhara in 1709 A. D. and the signs of a distinct revival of the ancient glory of Mithilā were discernible at Mangroni Pāninian studies, which never influenced the works of Jagadiśa and Gadādhara of Bengal, shed lustre on Giridhara's

1 Jivanatha was the second Tarkatirtha' of Mithila and passed in 1893 as a pupil of Yadunatha Sarvabhauma of Navadvīpa He lived at Sugaunā and belonged to the Sodarapura family The first Tarkatīrtha' of Mithila was Santagopala Jha who passed in 1892 as pupil of Kailaśa Śiromani of Varanasi Umeśa Miśra (pupil of Śivacandra Sarvabhauma of Mulajore College) and Vecana Jha (pupil of Yadunatha Sarvabhauma of Navadvīpa) passed in 1895 In the very first year of examination in 1879 passed two scholars evidently of Mithila who should be identified.

work, which succeeded in keeping the enormous subtleties of Gadādhara within reasonable bounds without discarding them. Unlike his professor Gokulanātha, who had displayed some animus against the Bengal authorities, Giridhara cited Śiromani with due regard

Giridhara began his work with an obeisance to the god Śiva and to his own parents. It is interesting to note that he gives the epithet अन्वीक्षानलिनीप्रमोदनरवि to his father *Mahopādhyāya* Vāgīśa who was also, therefore, a distinguished logician. Vāgīśa was the younger brother of Gokulanātha's father, being the fourth son of his parents (*vide* the family table published in the Proc Or. Conference, Benares session, p 318) He frequently refers to his teacher Gokulanātha and his famous work *Padavākyaratnākara* and mostly approves his views with additional arguments (गुरुचरणास्तु ' '' इति पदवाक्यरत्नाकरे प्राहु । युज्यते चायमर्थं ॥ pp. 37-40 See also pp. 45, 58, 126 30 142, 166, 184, 207, 225, 284-5, 312, 323 25, 342, &c. up to p 443) To give an idea of the courses of studies then current in the greatest centre of Sanskrit culture in Mithilā an alphabetical list of the authorities cited by Giridhara is given below.

Anumānadīdhiti (p 369), *Ākhyātavāda* (pp 24, 85 & 114) of Śiromani *Ātmatattvavivekadīdhiti* (194), *Kāśikā* (51, 53 4), *Kusumāñjali* (कुसुमाञ्जलिप्रभृतिमूलग्रन्थे p 31), Kaiyyata (375) Kaunda Bhatta (p 200), Gaudah (339, 346-47 being a refutation of Jagadīśa's *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* II. 129 & 359), *Darpane* Thakkurāh this important passage runs as follows –

अतएव सस्थानविशेषवत्त्वादिनेति मूले (*Pratyaksa* part, B I. ed. 833) व्रतविशेषवत्त्वादिरादिपदार्थं इति दर्पणे ठक्कुरा । व्रते विशेषो जटासबन्धतावच्छेदको दर्शित एव गुरुणा टीकेत्यत्र विवरणवाक्य टीकाशब्दार्थं । Dīdhitikrt (p 80) *Prakāśa* (प्रकाशे महामहोपाध्यायचरणा p 366 the reference is to the *Dravyakiranāvalīprakāśa* of Vardhamāna) *Pratyaksāloka* (प्रत्यक्षालोके मिश्रै p. 251), Bhattapāda (p. 106), *Bhāsya-Vārtika-Tatparya* (p. 117), Mandana Miśra (p 121-22),

Māgha (p. 74), Miśra i. e. Jayadeva (pp. 37, 202 & 251), *Śabdāloka* (शब्दालोके मिश्राः p. 202), *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* (p. 137), Śivāditya (p. 251), Soddaṇḍopādhyāya (? read Sondaḍa p. 161), Hari i. e. Bhartṛhari, author of the *Vākyapadīya* (pp. 128-9 & 449), The Kārikā हन्तेः कर्मण्युपष्टम्भात् &c. has been ascribed to Bhartṛhari evidently on the authority of Jagadīśa's *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* ; the mention of Bhābhaṭa, who was most probably posterior to Bhartṛhari, proves the ascription to be extremely doubtful, if not positively wrong. The Kārikā has not been quoted by any writer before Jagadīśa and seems on the face of it of non-Pāṇinian origin.

Giridhara proves himself very well-read in the Mithilā and Bengal authors of the Navyanyāya as well as the recent Pāṇinian works written at Varanasi. The mention of Maheśa Ṭhakkura's *Darpaṇa* proves that it was studied at Maṅgronī, obviously from patriotic considerations. No other commentary on the *Āloka* is mentioned in the list.

M. M. Rūpanātha Ṭhakkura (Tarkaratna) : a protege and close relative of Mahārāja Mādhava Siṁha (1775-1807 A.D.) of Mithilā, at whose request he wrote a sub-commentary on the *Ālokadarpaṇa* of Maheśa. We reproduce below verses 3-6 from its beginning :—

श्रीमट्ठक्कुरनिर्मितस्य सुकृतिव्याख्याविहीनस्य वै
दुर्बोधस्य च दर्पणस्य रचितुं भावप्रकाशाभिधाम् ।
टीकां चेन्मम वासना परिणतौ हास्यैकमात्रप्रदा
स्यादेषा सफला मुकुन्दचरणे भक्तिर्न भग्ना यतः ॥३

आसीद् यो मिथिलापुरे नरपतिः श्रीमान् महेशः सुधी-
स्तस्याभूत्तनयः शुभङ्कर इति ख्यातश्च तस्यात्मभूः ।
श्रीनारायणठक्कुरोऽस्य तनयः शत्रुघ्ननामा गुणा-

तस्यास्ते तनयः सुपुण्यनिलयः सत्काव्यचञ्चत्रयः
श्रीमत्खण्डवलाकुलाम्बुधिसमुद्भूतः फलानां निधिः ।
श्रीमान् माधवसिंहभूपतिकुलालङ्कारचूडामणि-
र्देत्ताज्ञः खलु दर्पणं स्फुटयितुं श्रीरूपनाथं प्रति ॥५

आसीद् यस्तीरभुक्तौ प्रथिततरयशाः श्रीसुबोधः सुधीन्द्रो
गीर्वाणाधीशपूज्यप्रतिमफणिपतिप्रख्यविख्यातकीर्तिः ।
तस्याध्येतातियत्नान्नरपतितिलकादेशतो रूपनाथो
वित्तीत्यै दर्पणीयं परिमितवचसा भावमाविष्करोति ॥६

The colophon runs : इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीसुबोधशर्माध्येतृमहामहोपाध्याय-श्रीमद्रूपनाथविरचिता . सिद्धान्तलक्षणीय-दर्पण*भावप्रकाशटीका* समाप्ता । It is thus a gloss on the first part (up to the Vyāptivāda) on the *Anumānālokadarpaṇa*. Rūpanātha also composed advanced notes called *Vivecanā* on the knotty parts of Navyanyāya, according to the then current standard of scholarship obtaining in Mithilā and Bengal. His notes on the *Sāmānyanirukti* of Gadādhara were discovered. Rūpanātha also wrote at the request of his patron a *Chandogāhnika* on the religious duties of the Sāmavedins ; it is still current in Mithilā.

Rūpanātha was a direct descendant of M. M. Dāmodar Ṭhakkura, the immediate elder brother of Maheśa Ṭhakkura. He belonged to the village Sarvasīmā, where his descendants still survive. He was 7th in descent from Dāmodar and was born evidently about 1750 A.D. For, in the interesting Judgement (Vyavasthāpatra) in Sanskrit dated in 1716 Śaka (1794 A.D.) Rūpanātha's name along with that of his eldest son Madhusūdana is mentioned , Rūpanātha's father was the defendant in the suit. Rūpanātha died shortly before 1750 Śaka (1828 A.D.), in which year his son Mahopādhyāya Acyuta Ṭhākura established a temple of Śiva named 'Acyuteśvara'[1].

1 All the above details about Rūpanātha are taken from an excellent monograph in Maithili named '*Candraptikulapraśasti*' written by Pandit

It should be noticed that Rūpanātha prosecuted his studies on Navyanyāya neither at Navadvīpa nor at Varanasi, but in Mithilā under Mahāmahopādhyāya Subodha, who must have been a superior scholar in the second half of the 18th century, though his name is now completely forgotten Among the own sons of Rūpanātha two became scholars of repute viz Acyuta and M. M Mukunda Thākura and both of them specialised in Navyanyāya but they are not known to have composed any work on the subject.

VIŚVANĀTHA JHĀ a celebrated Naiyāyika of of Darbhanga He belonged to a famous Srotriya family of Thadhī He originally read with Parameśvara Jhā and Rddhinātha Jhā the talented scholars of Cakauti village and finished his studies at Navadvipa with Goloka Nyāyaratna the famous Patrikākāra, and after his death with Prasanna Tarkratna He was exclussively a scholar of the latest phase of Navyanyāya When Maheśa Nyāyaratna visited his seminary at Darbhanga in 1891 he had eight students the largest number of Nyāya students in the whole of Mithila. He wrote a learned Patrikā named *Siddhāntasāra* on Vyadhikarana one of the knottiest sections of Gangeśa. He also composed an extensive commentary named *Prakāśa* on Udayana's *Laksanāvali*, which was fortunately published from Varanasi (1822 Śaka, pp 195). At the end of the book he has given the following account about himself —

आसीत् सोदरपूरमूलमहियाग्रामो भवानीपति-
र्यो ब्रह्मैकविचारनिर्मलमतिः ख्यातोऽखिलैः सद्गुणैः ।

Jivananda Thakura great great grandson of Rūpanatha (1999 V S, pp 82) and Asst Librarian Raj Library, Darbhanga *Vide* pp 24 32 for Rūpanatha's account, pp 35 36 for 'Acyuteśvara' and the reading of its inscription and pp 77-80 for the Judgement reproduced from the J B O. R S, 1920 It is a full and authentic account of Damodara and his

तत्पुत्त्रो मतिमद्वरोऽखिलगुणप्रख्याततारापति.
तारानाथविभूषणाङ्घ्रियुगलक्षोरोत्थसत्षट्पद. ॥

तत्सूनुरेनं मिथिलामहीश-
स्याज्ञामवाप्यौदयनीप्रकाशम् ।
श्रीविश्वनाथ कृतवान् प्रयत्ना-
न्मुदे बुधानां विमलप्रकाशम् ॥

इति मैथिलराजपण्डितनैयायिकवरोपाध्यायोपनामकश्रीमद्विश्वनाथशर्मकृतो लक्षणावलीप्रकाश समाप्त ॥ (p 193). The editor noted that it was composed in Caitra 1805 Śaka (1884 A D. शरवियद्गजचन्द्रमिते शके p 195) There are quotations from the *Muktāvalī* (p 19) Jagadīśa (p 24), Śankara Miśra whose views on Tejastva are refuted (p 47) and the *Vādivinoda* of Śankara (p. 55), which was not yet printed Viśvanātha has divided the original book into four parts (Pratyaksa etc) after Gangeśa (pp. 113, 163 Upamāna finished in only a few lines) This is quite novel, though quite in keeping with the commentator's profession. For, all up-to-date scholars of Navyanyāya bring down every topic under the four grand divisions of Gangeśa's work.

KAVIRATNA There is a copy in palm leaves of a commentary on the *Pratyaksakhanda* of Gangeśa by one Kaviratna preserved in the Darbhanga Raj Library (Ms No. P. 10, foll 88 incomplete towards the end) It begins

प्रत्यक्षेऽपि प्रपश्यद्भि प्रत्यक्षे दूषणं मुहुः ।
अथ श्रीकविरत्नेन क्षीरे नीर निरूप्यते ॥

It seems to be an attempt to point out all erroneous explanations upon Gangeśa. The only *Kaviratna* known in Mithilā is a grand pupil of Gokulanātha. He is thus eulogised by the famous Maithila poet Candā Jhā

इन्द्रपुरोहिततुल्या गोकुलनाथाश्च ये ख्याताः ।
तेषा शिष्या आसन् पण्डितरत्नेषु वागीशाः ॥

तच्छात्रः कविरत्नं जने खगेशेति विख्यातः ।
यौ तौ नरेन्द्रसिंहान्मिथिलेशात् सत्कृतौ युगपत् ॥
गुरुशिष्यौ गुरुविधौ सदवसरे माल्यसद्वस्त्रैः ॥

(*Kāśī-Śivastuti* cited in Sinha's *Hist. of Tirhut*, p. 144) Narendra Siṁha of Mithilā (reigned 1743-70 A. D.) was the son of Gokulanātha's patron Rāghava Siṁha Kaviratna flourished, therefore, in the third quarter of the century, when studies on the original text of Gaṅgeśa were almost forgotten

It should, however, be mentioned here that Vāgīśa was the name of an uncle (younger brother of the father) of Gokulanātha and it is extremely unlikely that the uncle took lessons from the nephew. If some other Vāgīśa, pupil of Gokulanātha, is mentioned in the above tradition it requires careful investigation. Otherwise the tradition cannot be accepted as beyond any dispute

DHARMADATTA JHĀ (*alias* BACCA JHĀ) was the most renowned scholar of Mithilā in recent times who earned for his versatility and profundity of learning the title 'Master of all sciences' (Sarvatantra-svatantra). He belonged to one of the premier Śrotriya families of Mithilā named Gaṅgauli of the Śāṇḍilya gotra His granfather M. M. Ratnapāṇi Jhā adorned the courts of Mahārāja Chatra Sinha (1807-39), his son Rudra Sinha (1839-50) and the latter's son Maheśvara Sinha (1850-50) Under their patronage he wrote a dozen works, mostly on Smṛti. Baccā Jhā was born in March ,1860 A. D He studied, taught pupils and composed works all his life and died in harness in August 1918 at the age of 59 only, when he was serving the Muzaffarpur Sanskrit College as its Principal. He took lessons successively from Jatādhara Jhā (of Pilokhwar), Viśvanātha Jhā (of Thādhī, his maternal uncle), Babujana Jhā (of Pilokhwar), Bāla Śāstrī and Viśuddhānanda Sarasvatī (both of Varanasi) When M. M. Maheśa Nyāyaratna, Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit

College, visited his seminary at Nowani in 1891, he had 19 students with him reading six different subjects. As a consummate scholar he wielded his powerful pen in many subjects, though most of his works remain unpublished. In Vedānta he wrote a gloss on the *Advaitasiddhicandrikā*, while his sub-commentary *Gūdhārthatattvāloka* on Madhusūdana's *Gītaṭīkā* has been published. He wrote besides a Campū named *Sulocanā-Mādhava*. He wrote many dissertations and glosses on the latest phase of Navyanyāya, some of which have been published securing for him a permanent place among the authors of Mithilā. The published books are

1. *Vivṛti* on Jagadīśa's *Vyāptipañcaka* (Varanasi, 1923, pp 41).

2 -do- -do- *Siddhāntalakṣaṇa* (-do- , 1925, 193)

The closing verses are reproduced as a specimen of his style

गुरूणामुपदेशेन ग्रन्थार्थानां विचारणात् ।
तर्कसाराभिधग्रन्थे पूर्णः सिद्धान्तसारकः ॥१
श्रीधर्मदत्तकविना रचितेन यत्ना-
देतेन मा मुदमुपैतु जनोऽपि विद्वान् ।
वालोपकारकृतमेनमवेत्यसूता-
तीतो मुदं भजतु भाच्छमयूखचूडः ॥२
स्वश्वासिनाभ्रलहगभ्रलचञ्चरीक-
सधारिचारुचरणाम्बुरसं धरन्तु ।
चेतामधुमपयिन. परिचिन्तनैक-
लभ्यं विनिन्दितसुधारसमद्रिपुत्र्याः ॥३

3 *Vivṛti* on Gadādhara's *Sāmānyanirukti* (Varanasi, 1935, pp.)

4. *Gūḍhārthatattvāloka* on Gadādhara's *Vyutpattivāda* (Bombay, 1912, Published in his lifetime). This elaborate work made the author's name celebrated throughout India

The following is a list of his unpublished works. Advanced notes on Jagadīśa's *Avacchedakatvanirukti*, *Vyāptyanugama*, *Pakṣatā*, *Avayava*, *Savyabhicāra*, *Satpratipakṣa* and *Gadādhara's Śaktivāda*. He also commented on the *Khaṇḍana* and on Vardhamāna's *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa* His explanation of Ānandapūrna's two knotty phrases on Īśvarānumāna, which taxed the brains of all the best scholars of his times, has been published (Chowkh. ed. of *Khaṇḍana* with 5 commentaries, pp. 5-7). He, moreover, proved his acumen by writing commentaries on the older classics the *Nyāyabhāsya* and Vācaspati's *Tātparyaṭīkā*, whose studies revived only late in his life. His masterly style is illustrated in the following closing verses of his gloss on the *Avacchedakatvanirukti*, which convey a double meaning

गङ्गेशसपर्कवशाद्विवाधाद्
व्याप्तिर्यमङ्के किल तारकारिम् ।
अपोपयद् यं रघुनाथविद्या
सुक्तिकाख्या इव वत्सलत्वात् ॥

अभूदवच्छेदकनामधेयो
यस्त्रासयन्नल्पमतीन् जगत्याम् ।
कृत्ये करोत्यस्य वचोभिरुच्चै
रनुग्रहं श्रीजगदीशनामा ॥

तस्यातिगम्भीरवचोभरस्य
व्याख्यापिता श्रीशपदे मुदे स्यात् ।
सता समालम्ब्य वचांसि धर्म-
दत्तेन सम्यग्रचिता प्रयत्नात् ॥

Many of his pupils and grand pupils are still carrying his banners in various parts of India[1].

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1. We are indebted to one of his worthy pupils Pandit Saśinath Jhā for some of the details given above. He has himself emulated his great teacher by writing a very advanced thesis on '*Tritalāvacchedakatāvāda* (lit three storied edifice of the term Avacchedakatā), which, happily, has been published by the Mithila Institute. For list of Baccā Jhā's works vide Introd. to his gloss on *Samānyanirukti* (Kashi Sans Series, 1935).

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In a few cases 'ch' has inadvertently been used instead of 'c' for च।

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